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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XXXVI. Part I

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SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF LIFE

IN

NEW CHINA.

ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE

BY

REV. TIMOTHY RICHARD, D.D.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

A GENERAL meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms on Wednesday, Jan. 29, 1908, at 4 p.m. In the absence of the President, Sir Claude Macdonald, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary read a letter from the President, expressing regret that a previous engagement prevented his being present at the meeting. The Recording Secretary also announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Lieut. F. C. Bartels, German Embassy, Tokyo; Lieut. C. H. Neill-James, British Embassy, Tokyo; Mr. E. A. Wiedeman, c/o N. Y. Life Insurance Company, Tokyo; and Mr. J. C. Ward, 28 Iigura Katamachi, Azabu-Ku, Tokyo.

The Chairman then introduced in a few well-chosen words Dr. Timothy Richard, of Shanghai, to lecture on "Some of the Problems of Life in New China." The lecturer was welcomed by a large audience, who thoroughly appreciated his instructive address. At the close Dr. Greene moved an expression of earnest thanks to the lecturer by means of a rising vote. The motion prevailed.

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Some of the Problems of Life in New China.

ABSTRACT OF A LECTURE

BY

Rev. Timothy Richard, D. D.

DR. Richards, who spoke entirely without notes, said at the outset that he thought he should make an apology for appearing before so famous a Society, because he had not had time to put his thoughts together in a way worthy of it. But he had felt a great deal of interest for many years in Japan, and it was just 20 years since he was once asked in Peking to deliver a lecture on Buddhism. The place was the British Legation and the Chairman was the then Japanese Minister, Mr. S. Shioda. To-day he would endeavour to give some idea of the problems of life in China. It was necessary to an understanding of the conditions in China to know something of the background.

Some five or six centuries before the Christian era began there was a very big problem in China, singularly like the problem in the world to-day, though of course on a much smaller scale. It was a time of contending states. In China there was a number of states who were constantly at war with one another, and during that time there arose a man from among the people who gave solutions of certain of the problems of life. One solution was very well-known ; it was the ethical system of Confucius, consisting in the main of the five points, benevolence, righteousness, piety, education and trustfulness and faithfulness. These were the ethical principles of Confucius, but he said something else, which was seldom mentioned and which was perhaps the most important of all. He wrote a book which he called " The Spring and the Autumn," in other

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words, a history of his own times and the times before him, and he said that by that book he would be afterwards either condemned or praised. Many people had read it and said it was the most un-interesting book ever written; and yet it was included among the sacred classics of China. Wherein lay the mysterious value that Confucius himself attributed to it? To the speaker it appeared to lie in this. He did not write his story as it was or had been, but as it should have been. When the ministers of different states met together to consult about international affairs, he invariably said that the Emperor called them to the meeting, though it was not the Emperor at all, but one state one year and another state another year. But he said he had the solution of all the troubles of his day, that it was two-fold, viz., to have a central authority to control everybody, and to have the ethical principles for each nation to conduct itself by. That idea of a central authority inspired the ruler of the Chin state to come forward and on a military basis to bring together all the other states of China. He did not employ ethical principles, but simply the idea of central authority, and that it was which enabled him to lay the foundation of the Empire of China. But it was soon found that military power alone was not enough, and there arose a dynasty which was guided by the principle of combining military force with diplomatic skill. Though states were conquered, the civil administration was very wise and laws were formed that exist to this day. Making a passing reference to the repelling of the Huns by the Tang dynasty, which he said was due to this combination of the civil and military power, the lecturer remarked that it was during this period that Buddhism entered China, carrying with it the philosophy, the science and the reformed religion of India—and not only the reformed religion, but a good deal of the ancient religion, Brahminism, also. It came as a new force into China; its object was not to consider this world's affairs, but to prepare for entering into union with the eternal God, whom the Mahayana school called the Buddha of the endless age. A great impression was produced on the educated classes in China, and scholars translated the sacred classics, brought from India,

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which are still standard books in China and have been brought from thence to Japan. Thus was brought into favour the idea that we are here in this world only for a moment, with boundless ages of life still to come. Here one could get along for a few years, whether in wealth or in poverty; the great problem was to be united to God and to get the light eternal—the vanity of this world and the far greater importance of the other was the chief idea of the Buddhists. Then about a thousand years ago, there came the Sung dynasty, under which was formed what he would call the modern Confucianism of China, because the views then expressed have been the orthodox views of China to the present day. The fundamental principle of that philosophy was reason. It was not so iconoclastic as the age of reason in France, yet it produced a considerable disturbance, and finally won the conviction of all the scholars of the land, that the philosophy of things was the best solution of the problem of life; and so there was produced in China a race of men about the noblest of any on the face of the earth. Once convince a Chinaman that a thing is reasonable and you have him instantly. That was one tremendous trait in the intellectual development of China. Consequently the historian Cho in his history declared that China was the only civilized country in the world, and that all other nations were barbarians, far below the Chinese in the scale of civilization. Since then, whenever foreigners came in contact with the Chinese, the latter held that, while it was quite right for the foreigner to learn of them it would be preposterous for them to think of learning from foreigners. Then there came the Mongol invasion, and after the Mongols had been driven away, China reverted to the principles of both military and civil administration, and finally they had the Ming dynasty followed by the present dynasty. The latter, though outwardly the conqueror, was really conquered by China, and it had developed the civilization of China until to-day her literature was the most remarkable and precious to be found. On the whole, then, looking at the past, they found a wonderful record as to how the world should be governed.

But in the last century a new chapter had opened in the history of China, and the conflict between China and outside

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nations had been exceedingly painful to China and was at present highly threatening. How was it that with such a record during the past China had failed to meet the situation when she had modern nations to deal with? He would say that one of the reasons was this: the Chinese had it in mind not only that China was the only civilized country but that there was only one ruler on the earth, and that ruler the Emperor of China, who was called the Son of Heaven in all memorials sent up to the Throne. It was no mere empty name. Hence when the Chinese came in contact with foreigners at Hongkong and Canton they styled their country the Celestial Empire and would not allow the highest officials of the West to approach the Viceroy in Canton, would not allow a despatch from a foreign high official to be delivered to the Viceroy. This pride, which by the way they did not consider to be pride but only the assertion of their proper position, cost them a war. Then the foreign officials desired to reside in Peking. That was an unheard of thing; they refused and it also cost them a war. The foreign representatives then asked to have audience of the Emperor, who was sacred, and in the sequel of this quite unprecedented request the foreigners had to fight a long battle as to audiences.

These were some of the reasons why China found it difficult to adjust herself to modern conditions of life. Moreover, the Chinese system of education, though some of its excellent features had been adopted by the British Government, referred only to their own country. The acquaintance they had with their own country was amazing, but they knew nothing of the history of the world as it is to-day; and so it was, despite the lessons which should have been taught by successive wars, that one set of officials who might be convinced of the uselessness of fighting the foreigners would be replaced after a time by a fresh set who would soon get themselves into difficulties with foreign nations, and the consequence was that they had wars about every ten years. The present cry of China for the Chinese was of about the same nature. Only one step had been made in advance of the past, and that was that the Chinese had decided to allow other nations to rule themselves, whereas formerly the Emperor

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of China was the ruler of the whole world. The cry of China for the Chinese was a cry of the utmost danger to China herself. It was alienating the best of her friends at home and confronting her with new dangers from foreign countries. That was the sad plight of China at the present moment; but there were signs of improvement and the whole land was now alive with the idea of getting Western learning. Here was a hopeful sign for the future. Referring to the Confucian idea that the nations should be confederated and that if any one became lawless the others should combine against it, he said there was nothing more common in the Confucian classics than the expression "Pacify all under Heaven." That unfortunately in the past meant only China. Now Buddhism was all over the land and in the Mahayana doctrine of Buddhism there lie elements that harmonize wonderfully well with the Christian religion. The old Buddhism did not believe in God, the new does. He went on to point out other differences and said there was hope for China if she could recognize that the best fundamental principles found in Confucianism and Buddhism are in perfect accord with the principles of Christianity. Let the adherents of each of the three religions rejoice in the high ideals possessed by the others, and let each one help to promote the common good of their fellow-men.

These seemed to him to be some of the things that were most striking in the history of China—some that tended to bring her down to ruin and some that were hopeful for her. He was delighted to find that the Asiatic Society of Japan was following the wonderful example of Max Müller. Müller felt convinced that for the welfare of the world it was necessary for the East and the West to understand each other better; so he organized the publication in English of the sacred books of the East. But, as people could not digest these, be organized the Hibbert lectures, by which the substance of these books was given to the world in a way that was generally intelligible, and in consequence of that he (the speaker) had noticed a great change in the intellectual attitude of Europe toward the East. After once understanding the religion and the philosophy of the East, Occidentals had far greater respect for them than in

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former days. With an allusion to the lectures recently published as reflecting the long study of Buddhism by their learned author, he concluding by expressing the hope that both in Japan and China societies or classes would be formed to study the deepest, highest and the broadest thoughts of the world; for it was only by getting hold of these that it would be possible to unite the world as a whole and to make definite progress, not as individual nations, but as a whole, to the attainment of truth and for the lasting benefit of mankind.

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THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE THIRD PRECEPT AND VIRTUE: FU-JA-IN,

OR

NOT COMMITTING ADULTERY.

BY THE LATE

JOHN LAIDLAW ATKINSON.

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THE TEN BUDDHISTIC VIRTUES.

THE THIRD PRECEPT AND VIRTUE: *FU-JA-IN*, OR NOT COMMITTING ADULTERY.

By the late
John Laidlaw Atkinson.

A FOREWORD.

THE first three Buddhist Ethical virtues, "Not Killing," "Not Stealing," "Not Committing Adultery," are called the three bodily virtues. The four following virtues, "Not Lying," "Not Exaggerating or using fanciful Language," "Not Slandering," "Not being Double-Tongued," are called the four lingual virtues. The last three of the series of ten virtues, "Not Coveting," "Not Yielding to Temper," "Not being Heretical or Skeptical," are called the three mental virtues. The cultivation of these ethical virtues is incumbent on priests and laymen alike. When the faithful observance of rites and ceremonies, and the living of an ascetic life have been added, a perfect Buddhist, and one for whom ultimate deliverance from bondage to the law of birth and death, and an entrance into the long desired Nirvana, is assured.

This third precept, "Not Committing Adultery," is discussed by the preacher, Katsuragi Ji-un, without coarseness or pruriency, though with a frankness of speech that Occidental usage does not permit in popular discourse. The sermon, however, is one which has a good ethical purpose and object in view.

This sermon was preached by the priest, Katsuragi Ji-un, on the 23rd day of the 12th month, in the 2nd year of Annei, i. e., 1773 A. D.

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A teacher will say that in appearance this precept is correct and its nature most excellent, but the average man will say that it applies to secret lewdness, that it is intended to hinder the development of love—*ai-jaku*—to preserve one from wrong conduct, sexually speaking, and to hold people to only such sexual intercourse as the world allows. This, however, is not the case. The nature of this precept comes from the nature of the sacred law—*Ho-sho*, and it is for the good of both men and heaven, being the pathway to the holy world. The average man thinks lightly of the sex relations of men and women, but this is a grave error. It is written in the book *Ritsu-mon*, that, if one should laugh during a sermon on the nature of this precept, he should be expelled from the lecture-hall. This shows how wise and holy men esteem this precept.

When the nature of the Law[1] operates heaven and earth appear, and in them the sexes—men and women—appear. Then, among these, this precept appears and reveals its excellent nature. The differences in both character and body between the sexes result from, or are, the manifestations of the Law-nature. It is written in a sacred book that the "Golden-Mouthed"—The Buddha—distinguished between the manifestations of the Law. He recognized the fact that the organs of sex are among the twenty[2] organs—*Kon*—contained in the human body. The purport of this is beyond the understanding of the average man. Only those who have meditated deeply can understand it.

People of confused thought err in thinking that various deeds are committed because mankind is divided into the male and female sexes. The existence of the two sexes is not a mistake, just as it is not a mistake in a rope that some see in it the form of a serpent; or that it is a mistake in the stump of a tree that some see in it the form of a huge man and run from it in fear. The mistake is in the thought of people of confused and superstitious minds.

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1. The Law would seem to be the creator of heaven, earth and men.
2. This division of the organs of the body into twenty was before the days of anatomical science.

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Consider now the nature of the Law as it results in the existence of heaven and earth. In the heavens there are sun, moon, stars, rainbows and the varied phenomena of the seasons; while on the earth there are mountains, rivers, seas, and fertile and barren lands. There are also civilized and uncivilized countries. There is also a great variety among men. These are certainly interesting facts. The nature of the Law also appears in men and women. Man perfects the virtue of heaven, and woman perfects the virtue of earth. All things are produced by the mating of the male and female elements—"*In-yo.*" The chamber —*Kei-mon*—of husband and wife is a private place, and if the relations of the man and woman are correct, the status of heaven and earth is not confused; but if correct relations are not maintained, the status of heaven and earth is disordered, and man and woman become as mere puppets moved by strings—from the outside. This is an interesting fact. When man's mind harmonizes with the Law-nature, he can clearly see and understand this puppet-like show, and the pleasure of seeing it will continue as long as this world of living things endures.

The prosperity or adversity of any country in ancient or in modern times, and whether civilized or uncivilized, come largely from the pure or impure relations of the sexes. For instance, men and women of even the lowest classes receive heaven-sent happiness through the circumspect observance of the sex relations. The reverse of this brings them misery. If the rulers and ministers of a country strictly observe the right relations of the sexes, even though they live in palaces and their chambers are unseen by outsiders, the sun and moon, the five stars—*go-sei*—and the twenty-eight constellations will keep their order unchanged and so also will the mountains, the rivers, the forests, the plants and the people. If, however, their chambers —*kei-mon*—are only dens of debauchery, marvels will be seen both in heaven and on earth, and sun and moon, the five stars and the twenty-eight constellations, together with the mountains, the rivers, the forests, the plants and the people will all share in the calamities that will befall.

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Instruction must therefore be given to men and women about sexual intercourse. All rules of etiquette and good form are based on this sex relationship. The government of countries and of homes—*Kokka*—is also based on sex relationship. A few incidents from history will illustrate this. The Emperors of Ka, In and Shu are said to have had the assistance, not only of able ministers, but also of able and virtuous Empresses. The Empress In, the Empress Ba, the Empress Chōson, the Empresses Tō and Sō, and others not a few of China and India, are said to have given great assistance to their consorts because of their great ability and virtue. These are facts that are known to all.

If in any age and country this Path of the Sex Relations is confused or disregarded, both country and homes suffer. Gensō of Tō was known as a wise prince, even while in his minority. When he ascended the throne he commanded his ministers and courtiers to destroy all their jewels and rich garments. When asked by one of them the reason for such a ruthless command, he replied that jewels and luxurious apparel were not suitable things for either himself or his subjects to have. This King Genso was regarded as one of the greatest in those days. The Emperor Jū was not wise to the same extent. He married the Empress Yō. This union was a cause of national disturbance, and the Tō dynasty began to decay from the time of Ju's reign. The Emperor Bū, of Ryō, was proficient in both literature and the military arts; yet his Empire fell, because he disregarded the precept, Not committing Adultery. When he lawlessly seized the country of Sei, he took to himself to wife the Princess Goshu, wife of the deposed King, To-Kon-Ko. Shortly afterwards the Princess gave birth to a son, and after this son grew up he began to doubt whether his reputed father was his real one. There was at that time a popular superstition—*Zoku Setsu*—that the blood of a living person, when applied to a bone of a dead person, would adhere to it, if there was close blood relationship between the living and the dead. One night the son of the Princess Goshu went secretly to the grave of Tokon-Ko, the deposed King, broke it open and took from it one of the King's bones. He then made an incision in his own finger and let the

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blood trickle on to the bone, to which it adhered. He afterwards commanded his son to do the same thing, and the result was the same. He thus knew that he was not the son of his reputed father, but of the deposed King, Tokon-Ko. Treachery now arose in his heart towards King Bu, and when this King was at war with another, the son, who was in command of King Bu's army, surrendered to the enemy, and this brought about the downfall of his reputed father, King Bu. There are many such incidents in both ancient and modern times.

It is written in the book *Kago* that when the Prince of Ai enquired of Confucius which of the teachings of Man's Path he regarded as the greatest (*Jindo wa nani wo dai nari to su*), he replied: "The ancient administration of affairs regarded the love of man as the greatest (*Hito wo aisuru wo dai nari to su*). This love of man makes the laws of Etiquette the greatest, and Etiquette makes Reverence—*kei*—the greatest and Reverence makes the Great Marriage—*dai-kon*—the greatest thing in Man's Path. All things are produced by the mating of heaven and earth, and the Great Marriage is the offspring or outcome of all things."

This is only popular teaching—*gokuchiu no oshiye*—yet the Law-nature is law and is the true principle in both ancient and modern times for men and women in their relations to one another. The perfecting of the heaven-virtue is most honorable for man, and the perfecting of the earth-virtue is most honorable for women. Each should be content with the sex status possessed, and perfect the respective virtue by recognizing this Law-nature in observance of the precept Not Committing Adultery. The government of countries and of homes is most honorable, yet much more honorable is the keeping of this precept by the exercise of wisdom.

It is written in the book *Ritsu-sho-Ron* that there are five kinds of impotent men who can neither receive purification nor attain to the rank of priest. It is also written in the same book that there was a foolish man, who, being unable to tame his lustful heart, mutilated his sex organs. This was told to the Buddha by some priests and his judgment was asked regarding it. He replied as follows: "Teach the man the law

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of confession——for wrong-doing—if he has only partially mutilated his sex organ; but if he has cut it off entirely, expel him, because those whose organs of sex are defective, or have been mutilated, cannot be allowed to wear the stole of a priest, which is the symbol of deliverance—*Gedatsu*—or to receive gifts from princes and faithful believers." We learn from this that permanent happiness can come only to those men whose organs of sex are perfect and strong.

There are also five kinds of impotence among women. Those suffering from these cannot receive the eight purifications, or attain to a higher rank than that of nun-novice. On one occasion a barren woman—literally, "stone-woman"—went to a convent and asked that she might be allowed to enter and become a nun. The nuns reported the case to the priests, and the priests reported it to the Buddha and asked for his judgment. The Buddha replied that, if the woman had not already forsaken the world and her home, she must not be allowed to do so; but that if she had already been received as a nun, she must be expelled, because a sexually imperfect woman could not be allowed to wear a stole, the symbol of deliverance—Buddhist salvation—or to receive worship and gifts from princes and faithful believers. We learn from this that only those women can have perfect happiness whose organs of sex are perfect and strong. These are profound teachings that ordinary people find difficult to understand. Thus the great holy Path—*Muryo-Dai-Do*—is revealed in the sex organs of mankind.

The desires of the Bodhisatvas, and the expedients—*Hoben*—of all Buddhas are perfected in the affairs of men, and are manifested in the world of life and death. Man cannot perfect the virtue of heaven, unless his organs of sex are complete; nor can woman perfect the virtue of earth, unless her organs of sex are complete. The virtues of heaven and earth having been set out in order in a man or woman and the duties of Man's Path perfected, one becomes an instrument, or organ, of the Law—*Ho-gi*—and attains to the rank of teacher in the heaven of man.

When Buddha was on earth an hermaphrodite—*Ni-Rei*—came to him through priestly mediation with the request that he be allowed to enter the order and become a priest. Buddha

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replied that the request could not be granted, and that if the person had been already received into the order, he must be expelled. The reasons given for this judgment were, that such persons are incapacitated for keeping the precepts and are unable to acquire the higher learning, and that they are thus disqualified for receiving worship and gifts of food from rulers, their ministers and other believers. There are three kinds of hermaphrodites, and they all impair the heaven and earth virtue and are unable to become instruments of the Law. In the book *Bommo-Kyo* it is said that animals, ghosts and hermaphrodites are allowed to enter the order, but this is exceptional teaching (see Deuteronomy 23:1).

There are some who are perplexed at the differences found in the Mahayana and Hinayana—*Daijo-Kyo* and *Shojo-Kyo*—teachings, and in esoteric and exoteric teachings. These differences are of no great importance. The Ten Virtues are for the good of both priests and laymen, and are in both the Mahayana and Hinayana canons. Whether one has forsaken the world and has entered the Order, or still lives in the world and is a layman, if he keeps the Way of the Precepts he is within the pale of the Sacred Law.

To keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery" is to act in harmony with the righteous relations of heaven and earth. If one takes the wife or concubine of another for his own sexual use, he commits an adulterous act which the world does not permit, and he transgresses thereby the righteousness of heaven and earth. Heaven, earth and man require that the chamber—*Kei-mon*—of wife and concubine be kept inviolate. Both heaven and earth have their distinctive phenomena; yet earth must necessarily receive from heaven. The precept Not Committing Adultery is sanctioned by this heaven and earth relationship.

The four seasons appear in orderly succession, and the four points of the compass are never confused. These orderly things are involved in this precept when the precept is strictly observed, heaven and earth continue in their orderly courses, and all nature prospers. Those persons whose conduct is contrary to this precept, or law, bring disorder upon their homes, and the affairs of a nation administered by them will become deranged,

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and the country will be ruined. Posterity in both home and nation will suffer the evil consequences of ancestral sins, and, ultimately, both family and nation will become extinct.

Foolish people imagine that the sex relationship of husband and wife is merely a personal and private affair, and that the observance or non-observance of this precept means nothing more than that one should not so conduct himself as to be laughed at by others. This, however, is not the correct way of looking at it. Marital fidelity is a most important thing, because it is so intimately, related to Heaven, Earth and the Sacred Law.

It is written in the book *Shikyo* that at the beginning of things heaven and earth first appeared, and after them all nature—*Bambutsu*; that afterwards males and females appeared, and after them parent and child; and then lord and retainer; and then the superior and the inferior classes; and after these the laws of etiquette and order—*Kei-gi*: and that so the function and way of husband and wife are orderly and permanent. This statement of the sacred book is a reasonable one.

Another sacred book says that "the earth floating in air is like a cloud floating in space." Space is not mere emptiness; for out of it earth and oceans proceed and are rendered full. When the relations or affinities— *En**—appear, worlds which possess them appear in an endless series, as do also worlds of different dissimilar kinds. The reason for this is that where there is space, or sky, there, whenever the relation or unknown cause—*En*—appears, the worlds are produced; and when this unknown constructive cause—*En*—ceases to be, the worlds perish. To the intelligent observer the worlds floating in space are like bubbles on the surface of water, which how appear and then presently perish. This world is not a mere inert lump of earth; for it is always producing both animate and inanimate things. Wherever this world is, there living things are produced,

* *En* means relation, affinity, connection, secret or unknown cause, influence, combination of circumstances, fate, the ties or bonds in and by which mankind and all nature are held together, caused and controlled. Where this *En* comes from, or what it really is, there is no attempt to say definitely. It *is* and that is all.

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until it is full and no empty place remains. When the affinity, *En*, which a living thing has with the world, ceases, that thing perishes; and when the affinity again appears, then life is again produced. To the intelligent observer this is like a ring or bracelet that has no beginning and no end.

In the book *Kise-Kyo* and other canons it is written that, when this great world was first produced, living creatures were born into it from the Kō-on heaven and lived on it an innumerable number of years; and that when these beings met one another, they cried out—"Satta! Satta!"; and that at that time there were no distinctions of relationship, such as near or distant, or any distinction as to beauty or ugliness; that light shone forth from the bodies of those beings and lighted their way for them; that this earth was flat, and with no such differences in it as mountains and seas, but possessed a consistency like that of fresh honey. It is written further that the relations of these beings to one another were extraordinary, that they never ceased from perpetually chasing one another round and round, and that they ate food that naturally grew out of the earth—*Chi-mi;* in consequence of which, i.e., of the difference and amount of food eaten, the light that shone from their bodies became less brilliant in some than in others, and the bodies also began to differ, some being fine and some coarse; and that from seeing these differences the beings began to distinguish between themselves, one from another; and that as the earth-food failed they fed on grapes—*Chi-bu*, which being exhausted they fell to eating wild rice. This natural rice was said to have grown and matured so rapidly that when cut in the morning another crop was ready by evening, and when cut in the evening a new crop was ready by morning. There was, however, a class of beings, or so runs the record, that was lazy, and at the first these gathered and stored up food for a single day; but after a while they gathered and stored away enough for two or three days' use, and the result of the new diet of rice was the accumulation of filth in their bodies which flowed forth from them.

At this time one class of these beings whose affections were not strong became males, and another class whose affections were intense became females. These now began to

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observe one another, to become intimate, and to love. Their organs of sex coming into contact their sexual desires were aroused and sexual intercourse began. Human beings—*Min-min**—seeing this conduct, despised the subjects of it and threw sticks and stones at them, in order to escape from which they built houses in which to conceal themselves and to live in. Then it was that the light in their bodies failed, and the world became dark; yet, because of some goodness that still remained in their composition, the sun and moon appeared; and when the sun rose in the East they rejoiced, and when it set in the West they lamented.

It was thus that there came to be husband and wife, and then children. After this came brothers and sisters and the near and more distant relations. Then the number of houses increased and villages, towns and cities came into being. These groups of people then began to quarrel with one another, whence arose the need of wise men to settle the difficulties. The quarrels, however, were not one but many; hence there arose the need for rulers and officials. Rice no longer grew spontaneously in sufficient quantities, and hence had to be cultivated, and out of this necessity there arose the farmer class. After a time one region had a surplus of food-stuff, while another had a deficit, and out of this condition there arose the merchant class. There was also a class of people that loved solitude and gladly spent their lives in contemplation and philosophical study. This class is called by the name *jo-ko*, the persons of holy deeds. There were, however, among these recluses some of a changeable mind, who again returned to the secular life and to marriage. These constitute the Brahmin class. It was thus that the four castes—*Shi-Shu*—arose in India to meet all the various human needs and conditions. The Law-nature now manifested itself in the conduct of mankind through the Ten Virtues, which are the Path of Man, and the gift, or command, of Heaven—*Tenmei*.

There are some persons who, because they study books outside of Buddhism—*Geten*, do not know its greatness, and so

* As the living beings spoken of seem to have also become human beings, it is not clear who or what these *Min-min* were.

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speak evil of it. They attack Buddhism and say that it teaches men to separate themselves from the great relationships of life, to give themselves to the purification of their bodies and to live an ascetic life. This is a hasty and mistaken judgment. There are others who, though believing the noble teachings of Buddhism, think that they cannot be really true believers unless they forsake the world with its rulers, retainers, parents and children, husbands and wives, and become ascetic teachers like Saigyo, Hoshi and others. This is all a great mistake.

Forsaking the world and retiring to a lonely mountain for ascetic meditation and a holy life is certainly a part of Buddhism, but it is not the whole of it. Buddhism is vast—*kodai*—and has instruction for all classes. There are teachings for those who continue in their homes and ordinary occupations—the priests. There are also teachings for those of great minds, and teachings for those of small minds. There are teachings for rulers, for princes and for subjects, and for retired lay-scholars. A chapter in the book *Kegon-Kyo* mentions several classes of men, namely, priests who spend their lives in ascetic contemplation, priests who give themselves to the secular education of children, rulers who administer justice and punish criminals, rich men who are versed in the art of perfumes, sailors who have a good knowledge of the sea, chaste wives who are the possessors of a strong love for their husbands, and heretics; there are also great differences in the attainments of both Buddhas and sages; notwithstanding which differences, all are Buddhists. As examples of the differences, there was *Kasho*, who practiced asceticism, Mokuren, who taught supernatural power—"*Jin-tsu*," Bashu-Mitsu, who called apes together and lived with them, Karutai, who devoted himself to the instruction of laymen, Hakukura, who never in the course of his life entered a nunnery or received offerings of food and clothing from the religious, and Jenwa, who devoted himself to music. All these teachers were holy men, who transcended the three worlds, and were a blessing to this world; yet each of them was different from all the others. Rank in the heaven of man—*Nin-ten*—is holy, and the virtue of the Gods—Shinto—is high; yet these, each and all, are different. It is the height of

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stupidity to affirm that the teachings about an ascetic life are all that Buddhism contains; yet it is true that among those who have forsaken the world—priests—the truly noble are hard to find.

Many of the priests of to-day busy themselves about wordly affairs, and do not even approach to the standard of Saigyō and Kuru-kaya. There are priests who seek for official positions and covet large incomes. They are consumed by lust and make no attempt to keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery." They have the name of being Buddhist priests, but their conduct and character are worse than those of the common people. From childhood to white-haired old age they neither understand nor know the value of Buddhist teachings; hence they disesteem and vilify these teachings. They laugh at the moral precepts, as being taken from the Hirayana, and declare that the keeping of the precepts is something to be ashamed of. Some declare with loud mouths that they do not keep a single precept, and hence have not broken them, not even one. Such priests are spoken of in the canons as beings who do nōt differ from beasts. The shallowness of these priests is truly great. The whole of true Buddhism teaches priests to keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery."

Among the five desires the one of touch stands first. Among the passions love is strongest. This sex-passion—*in-yoku*—controls both body and mind, and, if yielded to, fills the world with lust. If one binds this passion with cords, as a criminal is bound, the result is overcoming fortitude; otherwise there is nothing to be effected but trouble and quarrels. It is through yielding to the passion that the hells of beasts and of demons are increased. Buddha out of great pity established the priesthood so that the happiness of man's heaven—*risoten*—might be enjoyed.

Those who worship the priesthood obtain honorable rank, and those who make to it offerings of food acquire great happiness thereby.

Priests who know the trouble there is in the world, and who receive worship and gifts of food, should never go astray because of them. When opportunity offers, they should go

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among the people and become a blessing to them. When the opportunity ceases, they should return to the secluded life and cultivate their particular characteristics; even though their clothes are worn to rags, and food fails them, their minds and bodies should never waver. They, living between heaven and earth—among the people, that is to say—far surpass the five human relations. Thus, in respect of their virtues, they are far superior to the masses of men, and so are qualified to teach them the duties pertaining to relationships. This is the Path of the Priests.

The precept "Not Committing Adultery" is an easy one to keep, and it is to adults the foundation of conduct, and of rank in character for all who have forsaken the world and have become priests.

The precept is also hard to keep. *Raju Sanzo*, when twelve years old and while on his way with his mother from Keikin to Kyū-ji, met an Arhat, who, after noticing the boy, told his mother that he was not an ordinary acolyte, and that, if he would keep the precept "Not Committing Adultery" until he was thirty-five years of age, he would become an illustrious priest like Ubaki-kuta, but that if he did not keep it, he would never be anything more than an ordinary one. The boy grew up, but he broke the precept before he was thirty-five years of age. Similarly other priests of extraordinary ability were unable to become eminent, because they broke this precept.

In view of this, how careful should the middle and lower classes, who prize the three sacred things—Buddha, Law, Priesthood—guard themselves night and day in order that they may not break the precept.

In the book *Agon-Kyo* there is a special portion that teaches the methods of subduing lustful desires. The book *Chido-ron* also teaches in detail the way to subdue the five passions. It is particularly taught that love-lust should be subdued, since it hinders one in the acquisition of wisdom and in the practice of abstract contemplation. These things are written in both the Mahayana and Hirayana canons.

It is written in a sacred book that man is superior to woman in his attainment of the higher wisdom, but that

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woman is superior to man in fixedness of purpose. If those who have the form for perfecting the heaven-virtue—men—do perfect it, they are in the holy way and acquire the higher wisdom. If, too, those who have the form for perfecting the earth-virtue—women—do perfect it, they also are in the holy way and acquire the fixed purpose. Originally the higher wisdom and the fixed purpose were not separate, but one only, as the one naturally accompanies the other. If man gains the higher wisdom in its fulness, he has both qualities and is the possessor of perfect wisdom. If woman perfects fixedness of purpose, she too has both the qualities, and is in the holy, perfect way.

These virtues being contained in this precept, there is punishment for those who break it. A sacred book says that adulterers fall into the hells of famishing humans and of ravenous beasts of all kinds. If they should be again born into this world of humanity, they would not be virtuous husbands or wives, and would not have families according to their desires. On the contrary, they would certainly be born to uncleanness.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, Tokyo, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, Feb. 19. In the absence of the President, H.E. Sir Claude Macdonald, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced the election to membership of Bishop M. C. Harris of Tokyo. He also announced that the Council had unanimously voted to place on record its profound sympathy with Prof. Lloyd and Dr. Anezaki in the great loss sustained by them in the destruction by fire in the Fukuin Printing Company's establishment, of manuscripts representing many years of arduous study and composition. Dr. Anezaki's manuscript was later found not to have been burned: see minutes of a meeting held May 20th.

The Chairman then called on Mr. Galen M. Fisher to read his paper on "The Life and Teachings of Nakae Tōju, the Sage of Ōmi."

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THE LIFE AND TEACHING

OF

NAKAE TŌJU, THE SAGE OF ŌMI

BY

GALEN M. FISHER.

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Nakae Tōju, drawn by Kanō Yuhō of Kyōto. The inscription is a poetic eulogy of Tōju, composed by Satō Tan.

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Nakae Tōju, The Sage of Ōmi

BY

GALEN M. FISHER, M. A.

INTRODUCTION

THE essays by Dr. Knox and Prof. Lloyd in volumes XX and XXXIV of the Transactions of this Society constitute the major part of the comparatively scanty material in English on the Confucian philosophy in Japan. Of Confucianism in China we have an abundance of translations, but it is strange, in view of the divergent and varied evolution of Japanese Confucianism and its dominating influence over the nation's modern development, that it has hitherto been so inadequately studied by Europeans. What a godsend it would be if the trilogy of works by Dr. Inouye Tetsujiro, covering the three chief schools of Confucian thought in Japan, Shushi, Yōmei, and Kogaku, could be made accessible to foreign readers![1]

The mention of the Shushi school at once suggests its greatest rival, the Ōyōmei, or Yōmei school. It is to be hoped that someone will write an historical sketch of the Yōmei school in Japan corresponding to Prof. Lloyd's sketch of the Shushi School. But meanwhile I propose to present the lives and teachings of the introducer of the school into Japan, Nakae Tōju 中江藤樹, and of his most distinguished disciple, Kumazawa Banzan 熊澤蕃山. For, apart from the high interest of Tōju and Banzan as moulders of the thought and life of the nation, they illustrate the salient ideas of the Yōmei school and thus form a fitting introduction to a fuller study of it. I desire to acknowledge here the expert assistance of Prof. Uraguchi Bunji in preparing this paper.

1 Since the above was written, the Society has been fortunate enough to secure for publication reviews of these three volumes by Prof. W. Dening.

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THE YŌMEI SCHOOL

THE Yōmei philosophy owes its name to its founder, Ō-Yō-Mei 王陽明 (Chinese, Wang-Yang-Ming 1472—1528), a contemporary of Sir Thomas More, Tyndale and Descartes. He was thus three hundred years later than Shushi 朱子 (Chinese, Chu Hi 1130—1200), the Martin Luther of Chinese Confucian thought. Like Shushi, Ō-Yō-Mei dared to think for himself, while believing himself to be loyal to the old masters.

In Japan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Shushi school was recognized by the Tokugawa rulers for political ends as the orthodox teaching, and all other schools were proscribed.[2] Hence, when Nakae Tōju about 1640 became a convert to Yōmei doctrines, he espoused a branded cause. It is this element of daring to defy the ban of the State and the opposition of the orthodox that gives a dramatic interest to the school. Tōju and his followers rendered a priceless service to Japanese thought, for as Dr. Inouye suggests, they saved it from the deadening clutch of a single school, so baneful in China, and gave it new room and stimulus to growth. One result of the opposition of the officials and literati was to drive Yōmei doctrines through the lower social strata and to make them the vehicle of a sort of gospel of democracy. Shushi stood for the inviolability of the powers that be; Yōmei stood for the rights of the people, especially the right of protest and even of revolt against a bad ruler. It was a noted Yōmei representative, Ōshio Chusai, who was so wroth over the refusal of the officials in Osaka to remit taxes during the scarcity of 1839 that he rifled the Government granaries and distributed rice to the people, paying with his

2 This may have been first suggested to the Tokugawa by the fact that in China it was for centuries forbidden to quote from any school but Shushi in the examination essays.

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life for this and other acts of hostility to the Tokugawa Shogunate.[3] Naturally, Shushi was favored and Yōmei repressed by the Tokugawa, for the double purpose of preventing rebellion and of stifling criticism of their shaky title to power. On the other hand, patriots eager to buttress the Imperial throne were for similar reasons also champions of Shushi, so that Shushi would seem to have been impregnable. But the spirit of popular rights, imbibed from Confucius himself, and of freedom of thought imbibed from Yōmei, defied all these barriers and found powerful expression in a chain of Yōmei scholars, statesmen and moralists, whom Dr. Inouye considers superior in loftiness and vigor of character to the exponents of the Shushi teachings. As Prof. Lloyd says, "The tendency of Shushi disciples is to become gentle, humble and truthful." Yōmei, on the other hand, added an infusion of originality and activity, and hence attracted the more virile, aggressive natures. The democratic tendency of Yōmei is seen in the adoption, by Banzan, even more than by Tōju, of a style intelligible to the common people, even at the cost of bitter taunts from the vast majority of the literati, who clung to stilted Chinese.

The Chief Categories the Same in Both Schools.—Differ as the two schools may in their philosophy, they both deal in the same terms or categories, namely, ri 理, ki 氣, ten 天, and taikyoku 太極, for both of them hark back to Mencius. These terms cannot be accurately rendered into English, but approximately, they mean: ri=fundamental and unchanging law and ethical order; ki=the active, passionate element in nature and in man, which determines the embodiment of ri; ten=the impersonal, passionless over-soul, a perfectly just providence and fate combined; taikyoku=literally, the great limit, or more freely, the infinite potentiality of what ri and ki evolve in the universe.[4]

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3 Dr. Inouye's "Nihon Yomei Gaku Ha," 4th ed. pp. 440-3.

4 For a complete treatment see the admirable essays by Dr. Knox and Mr. Haga in T. A. S. J. Vol. XX, pp. 1-24; 134-192.

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Ethics not Philosophy the Central Interest.—The subtle and, to a westerner, almost unintelligible controversies which raged around these categories in both China and Japan were almost as fierce as those between nominalist and realist in Europe. But these controversies may be practically ignored by the ordinary student of Confucianism, for the central interest of the philosophers themselves was after all not in metaphysics but in ethics. And in ethics the differences between Shushi and Yōmei, between Tōju and Kyusō, are insignificant in comparison with their agreements. Indeed, the dominance of the ethical over the metaphysical interest in Japanese Confucian philosophers is only less marked than in the Hebrew prophets. The metaphysical background of all the Confucian schools grew up long after the ethics of the five relations and the five virtues had become the warp and woof of Chinese society. And fortunately, the ethics came to Japan centuries before the metaphysics. So it comes to pass that Shushi and Yōmei champions, spar as they may over ri and ki, are as much at one in their practical ethics as Calvin and Arminius. Individual teachers have their pet terms, e. g. Tōju his Conscience 良知 and Banzan his Humane Government 人政. But all alike exalt obedience to the way 道, the obligations of loyalty 忠 and filial piety , propriety in station and in demeanor 禮, benevolence 仁, righteousness 義, understanding 知, and faith 信, just as unanimously as Bentham and T. H. Green preach self-control, patriotism, honesty and justice. But secondary as the metaphysics is, in order to appreciate fully the lives and teachings of Tōju and his contemporaries we must at least glance at the metaphysical principles of Shushi and Yōmei.

Some Metaphysical Points of Difference.—According to Dr. Inouye, the differences between the Shushi and Yōmei schools were as follows:—

1. Shushi exalted learning, holding that the laws of morality could only be truly discovered through it. Yōmei put morality first and learning second, even going so far at times as to hold that morality itself is the only learning, thus outdoing Matthew Arnold's "Conduct is three-fourths of life."

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2. Shushi held that the fundamental principles of the universe are two, ri and ki, law and its embodiment, or thought and energy. He was, therefore, a dualist. Yōmei, on the contrary, declared that ri and ki are one and inseparable. He was what we might term a monist.

3. Shushi distinguished between the natural mind or heart, kokoro 心, and eternal law or reason, ri 理, holding kokoro to be dependent upon ki 氣, the active, passionate element in the universe. Yōmei explained kokoro as being the same as ri, that is, if the mind and heart were only clear and bright, reason would be self-evident. Hence, Yōmei did not investigate the outer world to find ri; to him the one thing needful was to make the kokoro clear within.

4. As Shushi held that ri could only be comprehended by a great number of experiments, he tended toward experimentalism 經驗論, whereas Yōmei declared that pure wisdom only existed in kokoro, and therefore tended toward idealism 唯心論.

5. Shushi said: First know, then do. Yōmei would put neither knowing nor doing first, but asserted that they were at bottom identical 知行一致. Hence, Shushi exalted mental culture, but Yōmei deeds. The natural result was for disciples of Shushi to show the broader, more varied learning, often in combination with an oily, devious temperament. Yōmei disciples, on the other hand, however narrow their culture, were apt to be upright and downright, to use a short sword and thrust straight 短刀直入.

NAKAE TŌJU, THE SAGE OF ŌMI.[5]

Youth and Education.—Nakae Tōju was born in the opening years of King James the First's reign, in 1608, in the remote village of Ogawa, Ōmi Province, on the western shore of Lake Biwa, under the shadow of Mount Hira. The country was at peace under Hideyoshi, the first of the Tokugawa

5. Based chiefly upon "Nihon Yomei Gaku Ha no Tetsugaku," by Dr. T. Inouye, 4th edition, 1903.

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rulers, and the calm and impressive scenery around his father's farm may possibly have fostered in the future sage a reflective, reverent frame of mind.

Although only a farmer's son, Tōju had a quick, retentive mind. Fortunately, perhaps, for his intellectual development, he was adopted in his ninth year by his grandfather, a samurai in service to the daimyō, Lord Katō. Common as adoption has always been in Japan, it seems strange that Tōju's parents should have thus given up their only son. We only know that they did it after a severe struggle with their affections. They may have allowed filial deference to the grandfather's wish to outweigh their parental affection, or they may have seen in it a better opening than they could hope to make for him in the rice fields of Ogawa. Be that as it may, under the encouraging guidance of his grandfather, who regretted keenly his own lack of education, Tōju made rapid progress in learning to read and write.

Within a year or two the grandfather was transferred to Ōsu 大洲 near Matsuyama, and Tōju went, too. It was there that the lad was given Confucius' "Great Learning" 大學 to read for the first time, and he came across those words in the first chapter: "From the Emperor down to the commonest person, the cultivation of character is the chief business of life." It seemed to him like a special revelation. "Heaven be thanked!" he exclaimed, with tears of rapture, "and why cannot I by study and effort become a saint myself!"

Not long after this, while eating in the silence prescribed by Confucius, he was deeply moved, at the thought of the three great blessings given him by Heaven: his parents, his grandfather, and his feudal lord. It is said that whenever he was told of his lord's approach, even when lost in his books, he would kneel and bow toward the point where the lord was expected to pass.

But the boy was by no means a mere sensitive weakling, bent upon books and devotions. When he was but thirteen, and a mob attacked his grandfather's house, he was among the first to rush into their midst, sword in hand, and beat them off; and "then was as calm as before." He was sent

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The Wistaria Vine (Jap. tōju) to the rear of Tōju Shoin, from which Tōju took his name.

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about this time to one Tenryo, a Buddhist priest of great learning, to be trained in the arts of poetry and caligraphy. Of the many questions that the precocious youth put to his teacher, the following was characteristic: "You tell me," said Tōju, "that when Buddha was born, he pointed one hand heavenward and the other earthward, and said, 'I alone of all beings in heaven above and under the heavens am worthy of honor.' Was he not the proudest of all men under heaven? How is it possible for my Reverend Master to own such as he as his ideal?" Tōju never liked Buddhism after that. His ideal was perfect humility, and Buddha lacked it.[6]

When he was about sixteen Tōju suffered one of the severest sorrows of his life in the death of his grandfather. But he set himself all the more intently at his books and his duties as a retainer of Lord Katō. Fortunately, in the summer of this year, 1624, a Zen priest was invited to Ōsu to lecture on the "Analects" of Confucius. Tōju became a regular attendant and almost the only one, for the people in general thought that a samurai's business was to fight and despised book learning as fit only for priests and recluses. After the priest had gone, Tōju, then aged seventeen, was able for the first time to obtain a complete set of Confucius' "Four Books" 四書, showing the scarcity of books at the time. Such was the popular feeling that Tōju had to study in secret, applying himself by day to martial discipline, and by night to his precious books. One day one of his comrades addressed him as "Confucius," in evident derision of his nightly devotion to his books, as well as of his even self-control, a contrast to the ordinary quarrel-loving youths about him. "You ignoramus, you!" was the gentle lad's indignant retort. "Holy Confucius has been dead now two thousand years. Mean you by that epithet to blaspheme the Sage's name, or to deride me for my love of knowledge? Poor fellow! War alone is not the samurai's profession, but the arts of peace as well. An

6 Cf. "Representative Men of Japan," by Uchimura Kanzo, p. 147, an interesting appreciation embodying some semi-legendary material, which is, however, so true to life that we shall quote several more passages further on.

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unlettered samurai is a chattel, a slave. Are you content to be a slave?" Tōju's outburst had its effect. The fellow owned his ignorance and thereafter held his tongue.[7]

In 1625, in his seventeenth year, his father died, and he longed to go home to Ogawa out of respect for him and solicitude for his mother. But his lord objected and he stayed at Ōsu for nine years more, only making two brief visits to his mother during his fifteen years' absence. We have few data for the later years at Ōsu, knowing only that he was a strict disciple of Shushi and that he grew daily in fame for learning and purity of character. Honors and emoluments were waiting for him, but he could not be content away from his lonely mother.

Finally, in 1634, he made up his mind to leave his lord and cleave to his mother, illustrating in practice what all his life he held in theory, that filial duty takes precedence of loyalty. He reached this decision only after severe struggles, which can best be described in his own words in the letter which he left to explain his departure. "I petitioned for release in part because my poor health prevents me from serving my lord as well as my associates can, and in part because my mother has for ten years lived a lonely life with no one to comfort her. My lord can hire any number of servants such as I, but I am her only son and support. She cannot trust any of her relatives. She pines for me and more than once she has been at the verge of starvation. Last year I planned to bring her hither, but she was too old and feeble to stand the journey, for she can hardly walk. Morever, being a woman, she cannot bear to go so far from her old home. I have had two fathers and two mothers, but three of them passed into the other world in my youth, and my mother will soon follow them. So I am set on going home to ease her last years. I will return and serve my lord again after she passes away. This is my only motive in deserting. If I have told any lie in this letter, Heaven will surely punish me, and will not let me meet my mother in the next world."

The happy hour that brought him to his mother's side found him with only a hundred *mon* (worth, perhaps, twenty-

7 Uchimura op. cit. p. 148.

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five *sen* in the present currency) left. With it he bought a little sake, and the scholar, turned pedlar, went round the countryside selling it at a slight profit. He also disposed of his sword, "the samurai's soul," getting ten pieces of silver for it, which he lent out at interest to the villagers. For two years he eked out a humble existence in these menial ways, keeping his self-respect and enjoying his mother's smiles.

Intellectual Development.—From his twentieth year Tōju had made the "Four Classics" his daily companions, particularly, the "Analects" and "Great Learning," which were law and gospel to him. Only second to Confucius himself as a formative influence in these earlier years was Shushi, who accentuated Tōju's naturally reflective temper and made him unduly introspective. His first work, "Notes and Comment on Great Learning," written in his twenty-first year, betrays this morbid tendency. His dissatisfaction with himself only drove him to harsher self-discipline, and made him cold and stoical. But the sterner his regimen and the deeper his study became, the fuller of sceptical unrest he grew, until he came to doubt whether the precepts of the masters were not counsels of perfection, after all. He was in this frame of mind, in his thirty-first year, when he began the study of the "Five Classics" 五經, The Books of Odes, of History, of Rites, of Music and of Changes. How deep an impression they made is evident from two volumes they inspired, in which he laments having been engrossed with the outward forms of the teaching of the masters, to the neglect of their inner spirit.

The first definite stage in his conversion to the Yōmei school was marked by the reading, about 1639, of the classic "On Filial Piety" 孝經. He made it a practice to recite it every morning.[8] One of his finest works, "Okina Mondō" 翁問答 (Dialogues with an Old Man), reflects his thought at this period, and contains suggestions of Yōmei views.[9]

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8 It was with something akin to awe that, on a recent visit to "Toju Shoin," the collection of relics at Ogawa, I turned the worn leaves of the copy of this classic, in Tōju's own handwriting, which he used in his morning orisons.

9 See Dr. G. W. Knox's excellent abridged translation in "The Chrysanthemum," vol. 2, under the title "A System of Ethics." With Dr Knox's kind permission I have used several sections of his translation in this paper. Although written before Tōju's conversion to Yomei, "Okina Mondo" fairly represents his mature views, for the reasons that it deals chiefly with ethical questions, on which his views changed but slightly.

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It was not till 1641, in his thirty-third year, that Tōju was directly introduced to the Yōmei philosophy by "Ōryukei Goroku" 王龍溪語錄 (Memorable Words of Ōryukei,[10] which was written by a disciple of Yōmei.

Finally, in 1645, Tōju acquired and read the complete works of Ōyōmei, a red letter event in his life. The story is best told in his own words: "I had been for many years a devout believer in Shushi. When, by the mercy of Heaven, the 'Collected Works of Ōyōmei' were brought for the first time to Japan, I bought and devoured them. Had it not been for the aid of this teaching, my life would have been empty and barren. I am filled with gratitude." This was the greatest turning point in his career. The three remaining years of his life he spent in propagating his new-found gospel by voice and pen, planting the aggressive Yōmei principles deep in the congenial soil of Japan. But with all his enthusiasm for Yōmei, he still saw some good points in Shushi and used them to supplement Yōmei. The effect of Yōmei on his character was to make him more optimistic and liberal and, at the same time, more spiritual.[11]

As a Teacher.—Tōju was twenty-eight when, leaving his peddling he opened a school in his own village. His own house served as lecture-hall, chapel and dormitory, all in one. Confucius' likeness[12] was hung up in the place of honor, and to him incense was burnt by the master and his pupils. The curriculum consisted solely of the Chinese classics, caligraphy, poetics, and history. For years he led a "mute, inglorious"

10. The Zen elements in this work may partially account for the Buddhist ideas in Toju.

11. It would be impossible to say just how much originality Tōju showed, without comparing him in detail with Ōyōmei. This must wait until Ōyōmei has been rendered into some European language or must be done by someone who can read both Japanese and Chinese. It is, however, safe to assert that Tōju's title to greatness rests upon his saintly character far more than upon his philosophical originality.

12. It may have been the kakemono portrait drawn by Tōju's own hand, which is still preserved at Ogawa. Over the portrait this poem or ditty appears. "Confucius: Confucius, Confucius! Great is Confucius: Before thee was none like thee; After thee there has been no successor. Confucius, Confucius, Confucius! Great is Confucius!"

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life, unknown outside his own county and caring nought for fame. But his virtues could not be hid and pupils flocked to him more and more. His most famous pupil came to him in this wise.

A young retainer of the daimyo of Okayama, Banzan by name, set out for a town in Ōmi not far from Ogawa to study arms and literature. On the way he stopped at a country inn, on the borders of Omi. In the room next to his, separated only by the thin partition, were two travellers, evidently of but recent acquaintance. Their conversation attracted Banzan's attention. One of them, a samurai, was telling his experiences, as follows:

"I had gone up to the capital (Yedo) on my lord's business and was on my way back carrying several hundred pieces of gold. These I usually kept close to my body; but on the day I reached this village, contrary to my custom, I fastened the money bag to the saddle of the horse which I had hired for the afternoon. Arrived at the inn, I forgot the treasure on the saddle and dismissed the horse and groom. Only some time afterward did I discover my fearful loss. I was beside myself I knew neither the groom's name nor his address. Even if I could have found him, of what use would it have been, if he had already squandered or hid the gold! I was tormented with remorse and fear as I tried to think how I could explain the loss to my master. I wrote letters, one for the chancellor, others for my relatives, and prepared for my last hour.

"While in the grip of these agonizing thoughts, suddenly, about midnight, I heard somebody pounding at the hotel gate. In a moment I was told that a peasant wanted to see me. He was shown to my room and, to my astonishment, he was none other than my groom of the afternoon. 'Sir Knight,' he began, 'I believe you left an important parcel upon the saddle. I have come back to hand it to you. Here it is.' I was transported with joy. Collecting myself, I said, 'Man, I owe my life to you. Take a fourth of this as the price of my existence. You are my second father.' But he replied, unmoved, 'I am not entitled to any such thing. The purse is all

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yours.' I tried to force fifteen pieces, then five, then two, and finally one piece upon him, but in vain. At last he said: "As I am a poor man, pray give me four *mon* for a pair of straw sandals, as I came all the way from my home, ten miles away, to return the bag.' Try as I might, I could only persuade him to take two hundred *mon* (equivalent to perhaps fifty *sen* to-day). He was on the point of going gladly away, when I stopped him and said: 'Pray tell me what made you so honest and unselfish? Such virtue I never thought to find on earth.' 'There lives in my village,' the peasant replied, 'a man named Nakae Tōju, who teaches us villagers these things. He says gain is not the aim of life, but honesty, righteousness and benevolence. We all walk by his teaching.'"

Banzan drank in the story. He clapped his knee and exclaimed: "Here is the sage I am seeking. I will go to him to-morrow morning and become his servant and disciple." Accordingly, at daybreak he started for Ogawa, inquired the way to Tōju's house, and found him in. Forthwith he confessed his purpose in coming and humbly begged to be taken in as a disciple. Tōju was surprised—he, a village teacher, sought out by a knight from a distant province! He denied the request, but Banzan was importunate, and refused to move away from his sworn master. Tōju was also obdurate. It became a rivalry between importunity and humility.

As neither arguments nor entreaties availed to move the master, Banzan made up his mind to win his case by sheer perseverance. So by the gate of the master's house he spread his upper garment, and there in the posture befitting a gentleman, swords at his belt and hands on his knees, he sat, exposed to the sun, the dew, and the comments of passers-by. It was summer, and mosquitoes are troublesome in those regions, but nothing could break his dignified posture nor his stedfast resolve. For three days and three nights his mute prayer was thus made, but the master within remained silent and inflexible. It was then that Tōju's mother used her great influence in the youth's behalf. Her appeals to Tōju's sympathy and honour in face of such noble perseverance led him to reconsider the question. Surely his adored mother must after all be right.

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He finally relented and welcomed Banzan into his inner circle. It is safe to say that his formative influence over the future financier and administrator of the powerful Okayama clan during those few months at Ogawa, constitutes one of Tōju's chief contributions to his country.[13]

His Disciples.—Tōju's fame steadily grew, drawing to him a large circle of disciples, among whom, next to Banzan, the most noted were Nakagawa Kenshuku, Idzumi Hachiemon, Nakamura Matanojo, Kase Hachibei and Tanikawa Gizaemon. Kenshuku was his very first disciple, having become attached to him at Ōsu and having followed him to Ogawa. Kenshuku married Tōju's niece and served him like a son for many years. But Tōju showed little if any partiality toward his more brilliant pupils. He was singularly patient with dullards, provided they were genuinely earnest, as the following story will show:

One of Tōju's friends at Ōsu had a son, Ryosa, who was a hopeless blockhead. The father was chagrined at the thought of making such a son heir to his samurai position, and determined to put him to a humble occupation. Ryosa, cut to the quick by this humiliation, asked Tōju to tutor him privately in medicine. Out of pure sympathy, Tōju consented and undertook to teach him to read and memorize a certain medical work. The opening two or three sentences were first repeated to him about two hundred times, beginning at ten in the morning. By four in the afternoon the passage seemed to have been roughly committed to memory. But after supper it was found to have been entirely forgotten. Days, months and years were spent over it, but all in vain. When Tōju returned to Ogawa, Ryosa followed him. Being convinced of the futility of the ordinary ways of teaching him, Tōju went so far as to compile a medical book especially for his use, and gave him lectures upon it. His patience was at length rewarded by seeing Ryosa blossom out into a medical practitioner. Tōju told this once to his disciples and said: "I have spent all my energy on Ryosa. If he had not been so diligent, I cannot tell what

13. Uchimura pp. 155-161.

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would have become of him. You are all naturally much more gifted. You can do anything you make up your minds to. What you lack is only perseverance." For a while during his later years Tōju yielded to the desire of friends and conducted an institute at Ashiya-machi, Kyoto, which was revived and continued for several decades by his descendants. But he preferred the quieter life of Ogawa. At no one time did the number of his pupils exceed thirty-five or forty. He was indifferent to numbers: what he loved was to develop men. One of his most important methods of moulding men was by letters to former pupils, a sort of university extension system. These letters, indeed, constitute quite a valuable part of his published works.

With the exception of Banzan, the earlier disciples of Tōju wrote few noteworthy works. Kenshuku's "Zen Jin Ron" is one of the best. But they showed a marked aptitude for administration, in strange contrast with their retiring master. A number of them, including Tōju's three sons, served the Lord of Bizen (Okayama). One of the ablest disciples was Idzumi Hachiemon, generally known as Chuai, the younger brother of Banzan, a calm, silent, clear-headed man. He early rose to the highest post in the Bizen government. In connection with his taciturnity this incident is told: At the council table, even when the discussion waxed hot and views opposed to his own were urged, he spoke but seldom. A fellow councillor, irritated by his very calmness, sputtered: "What moved our Lord to put this tongue-tied fellow over us?" After a pause an elder statesman fierily retorted: "Our Lord is far wiser than other men. For with Chuai in the chair men beware of disorderly, boisterous language and keep a watch on themselves. This means that he is a powerful teacher, and a strong cable for the maintenance of order and government. What can be greater than this? Wherein has our Lord erred?"

Of Tōju's three sons, two died comparatively young. The third lived to the ripe age of sixty-four, serving in turn the Lord of Bizen, and the Lord of Tsushima. Tōju's descendants made no special contributions to his system. But one after another succeeded in keeping up the Institute in Kyoto, so that his

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influence was felt there for at least a century after his death. At Ōsaka also, Tōju's disciples spread the influence of the school.

The famous Arai Hakuseki was indirectly influenced by Tōju through "Okina Mondō," which he happened to read in his seventeenth year. Dazai Shundai, Kawada Yukin, Ōshio Chusai, Miwa Shissai and Satō Issai were also much indebted to Tōju, the last two being converted to Yōmei by his works. But the very originality and independence fostered by Yōmei principles militated against the building up of a compact school ruled by a single standard of orthodoxy. Hence we see not a few of Tōju's disciples, like Banzan and Chusai, diverging from their master. In later times we find such masters as Satō Issai, Miwa Shissai, and Ōshio Chusai acknowledging their indebtedness to Tōju, the first two being converted to the Yōmei school through studying him.

After the master's death, the school of Tōju was divided into two branches. One branch emphasized introspection and the cultivation of personal morality, the other tried to apply his ideas to state affairs and the improvement of public morality. One was idealistic and subjective, the other utilitarian and objective. Tōju himself was of a reflective, saintly temper, and hence became the founder rather of the idealistic branch. Banzan was a practical economist and statesman and founded the utilitarian branch.

Character and Influence.—Tōju's personal appearance does not suggest the ascetic sage and philosopher, for his likeness in "Lives of the Old Masters" and the description of him by Oki Geppo agree in representing him as quite fleshy. This may have been one reason why he became such an early victim to bronchial asthma. It was on his second and last voyage back from Ogawa to Ōsu that he had his first attack of the disease, but from that time he had more or less constant trouble, until finally he died from it on August 25, 1648, at the age of forty. His behavior on that last day was characteristic. With reverent composure he seated himself before his table, bade all the women withdraw, and summoned his disciples for

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a farewell message. With a sigh he said: "Now I am leaving you. Who will take the burden of our doctrine upon him? See that my teachings be not lost to the land." Then he expired. Another account says that when he felt badly he used to lie with several pillows under his head, probably to ease his breathing. When he got better he took out the pillows one by one. Just before he died, his mother asked him how he felt. Dreading lest she should be worried over his condition, he took out one pillow with a feeble hand and replied, "Somewhat better, thank you." She was overjoyed at this and told him that he would be all right in a few days. But she had hardly left the room when he breathed his last. His fellow villagers showed every mark of reverence at the funeral, and his house, called Tōju Shoin, has been preserved and rebuilt again and again by the people, as the best memorial to their beloved sage. His simple, modest character had been to them a living ideal. They revered him like a god and called him Ōmi Seijin, the Sage, or Saint, of Omi.

Although some of the most striking anecdotes connected with Tōju doubtless have a considerable legendary element, still out of them there looms up a strong, consistent character. In his writings Tōju's plainness sometimes makes his thought seem trite, but in his actions his very ingenuous simplicity gave distinction to whatever he did. For the most part his conduct forms an admirable embodiment of his philosophy. He lived up to one of his ruling principles, that "Thought and action are one and inseparable 知行合一."

Tōju's sincere devotion to the doctrine that he preached, as well as his democratic temper, are shown in this incident: Once when travelling over the shoulders of Hiei San from Ogawa to Kyoto, he opened conversation with the porters of his palanquin, and led them on so impressively yet simply into his high conceptions of conscience and the inherent goodness of human nature that his untutored hearers were moved to tears of wonder and joy.

Toju was undoubtedly the first citizen in his village, yet he seems to have arrogated to himself no arbitrary authority, but rather to have done all in his power to strengthen the hands of the authorities. At the same time, his tact and

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Tōju Shoin, or Tōju Memorial built in 1882, on the site and after the plans of the house occupied by Tōju and preserved by the villagers until burned in that year.

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known integrity enabled him to achieve indirectly what a more assertive man might have failed in. This is illustrated in the following anecdote:

There was a ruler of Ogawa Mura, named Beppu, who imprisoned a villager on account of a certain unintentional misdemeanor. His friends begged Tōju to intercede for the offender. So Tōju called on Beppu that evening and talked with him till midnight. But not a word did he say of the prisoner. The friends anxiously awaited his return. In reply to their questioning Tōju said: "Beppu's face became mild; have no further anxiety." And lo, the next day the prisoner was set free. Beppu told a friend who asked him how it had come about: "Mr. Nakae visited me last night, and I received him rather coldly, supposing, of course, he had come to apologize and intercede for the offender. But, to my surprise, he said not a syllable about the matter, out of respect toward me as ruler of the village. I was so impressed by his delicate consideration that there was nothing for me to do but pardon the prisoner."

For his pupils Tōju showed the tenderness of a father. One of them, Nakagawa, became enamored of an eccentric treatise by Sōshi 莊子, and was being carried away into fanaticism. Tōju was greatly troubled about him and told Nakanishi, another pupil, that he would rather lose his own child than see Nakagawa go astray. When this reached Nakagawa's ears he was offended and went forthwith to Tōju and said: "From my youth I have believed in you, Master, and submitted myself to you. I have not done this to gain favour but to discipline my character. O Master, why, if you saw anything amiss in me, did you not at once correct me, instead of letting me fall into this error?" Tōju's face flushed, but he replied with tender gravity: "A gentleman (kunshi) should not speak to another of his faults. With all my own short-comings I am striving to be a kunshi, and so I forbore to speak inconsiderately of your error. But at length my conscience forbade my remaining silent any longer and I spoke to Nakanishi. Ponder these things, my child." Nakagawa was deeply moved and repented of the error of his ways.

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Tōju's deference toward his aged mother is one of the most marked and beautiful traits in his character. But, according to tradition, he dared to cross her in regard to one thing, and for it he deserves all honor. It seems that he was married, in accordance with Confucius' injunction, at the age of thirty. It so happened that his wife was not remarkable for her beauty, and the mother, anxious for the family's reputation urged him to remarry, as was not uncommon under similar circumstances. But Tōju flatly refused, defending himself by the maxim, "Even a mother's behest is not valid if contrary to Heaven's law." So the lady remained his plain but faithful helpmeet all her days, and brought up their three boys well—one of those wives "who shun all honors that their husbands may be honored thereby."

Time was so precious to Tōju that he lectured to his disciples until far into the night, sometimes even until four in the morning. His central themes were drawn from the character and teachings of Confucius and Ōyōmei, but as his mother was an earnest believer in Buddhism, he sometimes discoursed on the Buddhist scriptures for her sake, and even observed Buddhist festivals with her. His versatility and industry are also indicated by the fact that he studied and wrote about medicine, according to the crude notions inbibed from China.

The morbid undertone of Tōju's earlier writing, due perhaps to his study of the Shushi philosophy, ceased from the day he came under the spell of Yōmei. No despondent note mars his later writings. He seems to have enjoyed life thoroughly, in his quiet, unruffled way. He has himself voiced his contentment in several poems that are worth quoting. This one was sung as he plied a boat on a moonlit night:

"A flaw in thought an inchlet-long
A wake of a thousand leagues doth leave.
Let peace possess the depths of mind,
Let waves the cloudless moon not cleave."

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How joyous the heart that could sing on a winter day:

"When fading flowers ceased to be
The objects of my heart's desire,
How everlasting bloomed the spring
That all my quivering breast doth fire."

The following is in a similar strain:

"How little knew I that my life,
With sorrows sadly pressed,
By learning's help benign could be
Of deathless peace possessed."[14]

It is refreshing to find that Tōju not only faced the world with a calm, contented spirit, but that he carried over into his morality some of the militant temper that had been fostered by the samurai discipline of his youth. As we shall see later, this may account for his well-defined ideas on the art and character of the warrior. One can imagine that beneath the ashes of his firm self-control there slumbered the fiery passions of a son of battle. Once a friend was telling him of a clever way of avoiding hostile arrows. He broke in; "I have my own secret for doing that—simply go straight on and avoid nothing. Only one arrow of fate out of a thousand will hit me. If I try to avoid that one, then the 999 unfated arrows will strike me."

He has expressed a similar sentiment in these spirited stanzas:

"Press right on; though the way be drear,
Ere thy course be done, the skies may clear."
"Tightly draw, man, thy heart's string,
Prepare for a resolute march.
A case is known of an arrow piercing through a flinty rock."[15]

"He loves his life who his life forsakes
For the Way that no like or higher knows."

14. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 175.
15. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 169.

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And even as a village teacher Tōju found occasion to show his moral courage, for as his own unfettered thought led him to see that the precepts of the holy men of old could not all be applied to men of his day, he had the audacity to expurgate the classics, as it were, for the use of his pupils.

It is not strange that a man of such a character came to wield a strong influence, especially over the unspoiled peasants around Ogawa, from whom modesty and poverty could not hide true greatness. Miwa Shissai bears testimony to this as follows:

"Ogawa Mura of Ōmi had the privilege of being the home of Tōju. His literary remains are preserved there to this day. Although it is over seventy years since the master died and no one is living who over saw his face, for twelve or fifteen miles around men think of him with an affection like that they feel for their parents. Even the most unlettered men and women reverence him so much that they cannot bear to see his old home-school decay, and so they have cared for it and have repeatedly repaired it."

The famous pedestrian, Nankei Tachibana, writing of a visit to Tōju's grave, in his "Eastern Travels," narrates the following incident:

A samurai of Owari was passing through Ogawa Mura and asked a farmer where the grave of Tōju was. The farmer consented to act as guide, but first he retired into a hut near by. When he came out he had on a new kimono with a haori (a short cassock worn only on important occasions) over it. The samurai was surprised, but supposed that the peasant must be overcome at the honor of piloting such a distinguished personage. When they reached the grave-yard, the peasant opened the gate of the bamboo fence, and told the samurai to enter and worship Tōju. He himself sat in a reverential posture facing the grave. Thereupon the samurai, discovering that the peasant's haori and reverent air had been in honor of Tōju rather than of himself, asked the farmer if he had been a servant of Tōju. "No," the polite farmer replied, "but all the people of this village have been blessed by the honorable Nakae. We have all learned our duty toward our parents and

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children through his teaching, and our parents have taught us to honor him." The samurai had visited the town out of mere curiosity, but this experience filled him with such awe and admiration that he, too, worshipped Tōju and returned home feeling that he had been on holy ground.

The same writer had a friend, Murai of Higo, who had a similar experience. Mr. Murai called one day on a minister of the Kumamoto daimyō who had a son adopted from Ōmi, near Tōju's village. Murai asked the son: "Don't you happen to possess any hand-writing of Tōju?" The young man drew himself into a respectful attitude and replied: "My ancestors have all held Tōju in great reverence. I am the fortunate owner of a roll of the hand-writing of the noble Master, which I received as a precious gift from my aged father when I was leaving home to come here. If you wish I will let you look upon it." Thereupon he left the room to fetch it. When he came back he was dressed in ceremonial dress. He hung the scroll up in an alcove and drew back to the other end of the room and worshipped with every mark of reverence. At sight of this, Murai washed his mouth and hands and joined in the worship. The recorder of these incidents, Nankei, flourished more than a century later than Tōju, which shows his lasting hold upon the popular mind. In "Lives of the Old Masters," also compiled over a hundred years after Tōju's death, it is said that in Ogawa Mura even the merchants were not slaves to self-interest and that hotels kept forgotten tobacco pipes until their owners returned to claim them. I myself, adds Dr. Inouye, visited Ogawa Mura in 1897, two hundred and fifty years after the death of the Sage, and saw the Shoin and its relics and felt the spell of his enduring moral influence.

It was the writer's good fortune to visit Ogawa (more exactly Kami Ogawa) Mura in January, 1908. By the courtesy of the Secretary of Shiga Ken, an official accompanied me on the trip and procured the photographs which illustrate this paper. Taking a lake steamer at Ōtsu, a two and half hours' sail brought us to Takashima. After a ride of twenty minutes by jinrikisha we reached the farming village in the midst of which

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stands the Tōju Shoin on the very spot where Tōju was born almost exactly 300 years before: Unfortunately, the original house was destroyed by fire some twenty-seven years ago, but the present building is a close reproduction of it. The Shoin and the nearby godown in which the relics are kept stand in a plot of perhaps half an acre, which was no doubt part of the family farm in ancient times.

The entrance gate is of red stained keyaki and not remarkable except for the fact that Tōju's crest, two wistaria sprays bent into a wreath, appears in the carving, as it does also in the house itself. At one corner of the enclosure, near the street, still climbs the famous wistaria vine, said to have been planted by the Sage himself, and under whose shade he undoubtedly intoned the classics and composed some of his poems.

Entering the house, one finds a four-roomed structure, differing but little from an ordinary house except that the drawing-room contains a shrine. The shrine is simply a small cabinet in which hangs a tablet inscribed "Tōju Sensei Shin I 藤樹先生神位, To the Spirit of Tōju Master". Just below the tablet are the forty-nine sticks in a bamboo cup and the thin blocks inscribed with hexagrams, which Tōju used in studying the mystifying "Book of Changes". To the left of the shrine hangs a tablet to his son, inscribed: "Jōshō Shin Shu 常倉神主, The Spirit of Jōshō".

The most precious relic in the room is the motto "致良知 Attain Ryōchi," i.e., Enlightenment, written in his early manhood by Tōju himself. Fragments of his later writing have been preserved, but they are now nearly illegible. To me, one of the most interesting relics was the copy of the "Classic on Filial Piety," written out by Tōju in a stiff, upright hand, the very copy, it is believed, which he used to read and ponder the first thing in the day, as a Christian reads the New Testament.

Over the shrine is the inscription "徳本堂, Toku Hon Dō," written by order of Emperor Kōkaku by Fujiwara Tadayoshi. On pillars near the shrine hang two bamboo half cylinders with inscriptions by Itō Tōgai, a later disciple. One of them is from the "Doctrine of the Mean": 鬼神之格思 不可度 Kami no Kitaru, Hakaru Bekarazu." It is translated by Legge: "The approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise."

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The Shrine Room of Tōju Shoin. In the upper foreground is shown Tōju's crest, a wreath of wistaria sprays. In the background is the shrine. Directly above the shrine is the inscription 孝本堂, "Hall of the Source of Virtue."

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Among the other treasures the most noteworthy are the portrait of Tōju painted about 1640 by Obara Keizan of Nagasaki, and the large, closely written tribute to Tōju by Ōshio Chusai, based upon the motto, mentioned above, 致良知, Chi Ryōchi. In the godown are several suits of Tōju's very clothes, both cotton and silk, some of them presented to him by princely admirers, but few of them as fine as every middle class gentleman owns now-a-days.

It was somewhat of a shock to find that the villagers living near the Shoin to-day were, for the most part, ignorant of the life and teachings of the Sage, a modern instance of the old proverb, "Tōdai moto kurashi. It's darkest at the foot of the light-house."

Writings and Style. The works by Tōju may all be classified into ethical, literary and medical. The ethical predominate. The five (in one edition, four) volumes of "Okina Mondō," were among the first from his pen. They are in the elegant colloquial of his time, the contents being moral talks fictitiously represented as taking place between Tōju and a friend in a neighboring village. The views, with the exception of the Supplement, are those which he had before his conversion to the Yōmei school. The central theme is filial piety, and the secondary aim is to criticise Buddhism in relation to filial piety. An exposition of Tōju's key doctrine, ryōchi, 良知, conscience, was appended to the last volume. The whole work is called in "Seji Hyaku Dan" "the best of all the works of shingaku, 心學"[16]. But with the later progress of his thought, Tōju became dissatisfied with it and was about to revise it, when to his dismay he learned that the manuscript had already fallen into the hands of a Kyōto printer and been published. Tōju begged that the blocks might be destroyed, but the publisher would not consent until Tōju

16. Shingaku means, generally, moral philosophy, but refers particularly to the intuitive school of thought represented by Tōju. He himself defines it thus in Okina Mondō, II (Knox's translation p. 164): "True learning if so to understand this explanation that our actions shall be like the actions os the sages and our hearts like theirs, and hence the true is called heart learning, shin gaku, and sage learning, for by its help the common man becomes a sage."

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had given him the manuscript of a new work, "Kanso," to reimburse him for the unused blocks.[17]

The most authentic complete edition of Tōju's works is the one compiled by Okada Kisei, with a preface by Miwa Shissai. When the first collection of Kisei was sent to the third and only surviving son of Tōju to receive his final revision and a preface, the manuscripts were burned up in a great fire, but the patient compiler laboriously collected the manuscripts again. The result is the thirty-five volumes which we now have. A newer edition of ten volumes was published in 1893, but it is not trustworthy.

There are many poems, both Chinese and Japanese, scattered through Tōju's works. But in most of them the artistic finish so highly esteemed by other literati of the time is sacrificed to the clear conveyance of moral ideas. There are, however, a few worthy to be memorized for their form as well as thought. As a prose writer, his style was lucid, and at times trenchant, especially when attacking cant. For example, he flayed Hayashi Razan, a Confucianist, for shaving his head upon receiving office, as though he were a Buddhist. In "Okina Mondō" he directed similar sarcasms against Buddhism. Indeed, the Sage of Omi was by no means the personification of meekness alone. For meanness and sham he had vials of stinging invective at his command.

17. A fuller account is given in this note appended to some editions of "Okina Mondō." "The Okina Mondō was written by our brother Tōju. He went to Kyōto and retired from active life. We, his brethren in Yashiu, having lost our example and teacher, asked him to write a book for us. So he wrote this Okina Mondō and sent it to us in the eighteenth year of Kanyei (1641). However, he was still dissatisfied with it, and when it was given secretly to the printer he was displeased and had the blocks destroyed. He made certain revisions, but want of strength prevented him from thoroughly correcting it. After his death his pupils respected his wishes, but someone gave the book to the printer in the year 1650. We did not feel authorized to suppress the work, but made several additions and wrote this explanation of the Master's purpose."

TOJU'S PHILOSOPHY.

Tōju was a devout adherent of Shushi up to his thirty-second year, when he was converted to the Yōmei school and became its foster father in Japan. To the great

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loss of Japanese ethical thought, he lived only eight years after this, yet in that time he wrote several profound works. His philosophical attitude is marked by unusual impartiality. Although an earnest follower of Oyōmei, he did not depreciate his earlier master, Shushi. He criticised both of them, but reverently, as among the wisest of the sages. Thus, he writes: "Shushi was a great Confucianist and a wise man. Yōmei was a knightly scholar and likewise a wise man. But Shushi was too broad; he leaned toward natural science and got far from the laws of the heart. Yōmei was too concise (約); he was too tolerant and generous (仁) and leaned toward the heresies of Buddhism. But they both were wise enough to make heavenly reason (天理) the heart of their teaching, eschewing lower motives. Both alike would have rejected the lordship of the world if its acceptance were to cost the life of a single innocent person." [18]

His independence and eclecticism are further shown in these lines: "I follow Oyōmei in the old manuscripts (of Confucius), but adhere to Shushi in the selection of the later commentators(經傳). This shows that I am not a partisan. I simply wish to take my stand on what is genuine. If a text is not true I would be a fool to accept it." It was in conformity with this higher critical attitude that he expurgated the texts for use in his school.

His teaching is almost all of a practical turn, but is so tinged with mysticism and reverence toward the supernatural as to rise frequently into the realm of religion. It has, indeed, more in common with religion than with speculative philosophy. Students who can put up with his inconsistencies will find some of his philosophical views striking and worthy of study even to-day.

On the World. Tōju held a monistic world-theory with an idealistic tendency. "The universe, heaven, earth and man, are all one, and the study of them is the supreme, true happiness. To teach this is called the true teaching; to learn this is the true learning." He conceives an infinite and truthful

18. Inouye, op. cit. pp. 43-44.

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Being, or Sovereign (Jōtei 上帝), [19] a reality which may be called the world-soul. While he appears at first sight to be a dualist like Shushi, the world being conceived as composed of the two principles, ri and ki, a close investigation shows that he differs from Shushi, in making ri and ki proceed from Jōtei, of whom they are attributes. Tōju is thus kindred to Spinoza, who conceived mind and matter as attributes of the substance of the universe.

But sometimes, with characteristic indifference to the charge of inconsistency, Tōju seems to hold the unity of ri and ki as a merely logical necesssity, and to rule out any personal source and centre of the world. Still, on the other hand, he tries to steer clear of a vague pantheism He recognizes the distinction between the individual and the whole, as in this passage: "Although the universe(太虛), heaven, earth, man and nature are one, we can discriminate between them just as we can between the roots, trunk, branches, flowers, fruit and leaves of a single tree."

Tōju's decided tendency toward idealistic monism is seen in these lines: "The heart is the summary of all forms, another name for infinity. It unites ri and ki. It coordinates the mental powers and is called the lord of the body, but it really exists outside the visible world. There is nothing greater nor smaller. Indeed, Ten, the Creator, may be said to be within ourselves 心は統體の總號にして太極の異名なり. 理氣を合して情を統ぶ. 一身に主たりと雖も. 其實は天地有形の外に遍じ. 其大外なく. 其小內なし. 即ち造化の天我れに在るを得るものなり." [20]

How near his idealism, like Yōmei's, verges upon absolute idealism may be seen again in these sentences: "Our mind is the universe. Heaven and earth and the four seas are all

19. Jōtei carries a different connotation from God, being less definite and personal, as will appear later, but it clearly implies a spiritual, infinite nature, and so, for convenience, may be rendered God. Legge, however, declares with reference to the same term in the Chinese classics: "I can no more translate ti 帝 or shangti 上帝 by any other word but God than I can translate zân 人 by anything else but man." Vol. III, Pt. I, S. B. E., Preface.

20. Inouye, op. cit. p. 48.

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within our own minds. 我心は則ち太虚なり天地四海も我心中に在り" Thus all distinctions between life and death, between existence and non-existence, are submerged. He holds that true insight would lead every one to the perception of one life and law underlying all phenomena. In all this we see his dependence upon Laot'ze and Buddhist philosophers. But his practical nature and his hatred of Buddhism kept him from falling, like them, into the snare of nihilism.

On the Divine Spirit. Though under various appellations,[21] he conceives Jōtei as the omnipresent, omnipotent creator, and the dispenser of judgment. Hence, reverence toward the divine is an important element of his doctrine. But as we might expect, in view of his pantheistic leanings, Tōju blurs the distinction between Jōtei and man. "Man is heaven in miniature: Heaven is man magnified." "Heaven or Jōtei is the pervading self; Heaven in us is the limited self. And the Heaven in us is our heart, or conscience, i.e., ryōchi. Heaven, earth, man are called the three ultimates. They differ in form but the divinity in them is the same. 天地人を三極と云ふ形は異なれども. 其神は一貫流通隔なし."

Tōju's view here is quite similar to the Vedantic conception of Brahm as both the substance of the world and the spirit of the individual. Holding Jōtei to be thus immanent in man's conscience, Tōju finds it natural to believe in the possibility of perfect communion by man with the divine spirit. Although Jōtei is sometimes represented by Tōju as "our grand-parent" (Okina Mondō, III), and therefore, in a sense, as personal, he is really little more than the personification of the moral order. He has no concrete being. He is the world-soul, the governing principle of the universe, just as the mind is the master of the body.

On Evil Spirits. For the most part Tōju ignores evil spirits, notably in his developed doctrine of evil. But in Okina Mondō, III, we have what may be considered his earlier ideas on the subject: "All men, except the sage and the superior

21. For example: 天 Heaven; 皇上帝 Divine Sovereign; 太一尊神 Only Great Revered Divinity; 太上天尊大一神 Only Great Revered Divinity in Highest Heaven.

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from, he replies, not unlike a Buddhist: "Desire is the source of all evil and passion. When desire is aroused the mind is darkened and confused. But when the mind is not disturbed by desire, it is clear and every act is right and good."[26]

Equality of Opportunity. The homogeneity of human nature implies that all men have an equal right to attain superior character. Tōju is a democrat and holds that the humblest man differs in no way from the noble in his capacity to become a superior man or a sage. While this suggests Rousseau's conception of equality, Tōju never let his idea carry him into extreme individualism. He does, however, prepare the way for the fuller Christian teaching of the worth of every man. In commenting on "Great Learning" he writes:

"In ancient times the ideographs 人 (hito, man) and 民 (tami, plebs) were not interchangeable. Persons of rank were called hito, persons without rank were called tami. Rank is determined by man. When men are born, they are all, rich and poor alike, Heaven's people (tami). Hence hito implies an artificial limitation; tami implies no limitation" "The son of Heaven, feudal princes, nobles, ministers, and the commonalty, are the five ranks of society. They are ranked as honorable or contemptible, great or small, but in character there is not a hair's breadth of inherent difference."[27] Truly, Christian doctrine! Indeed, the similarity of parts of the Yōmei teachings to Christianity was one reason for the practical interdiction of Yōmei in Japan. As Uchimura says: "When Takasugi Shinsaku, a Chōshu strategist of revolutionary fame, first examined the Christian Bible, he exclaimed, 'This resembles Yang Mingism; disintegration of the Empire will begin with this.' That something like Chrisianity was a component force in the reconstruction of modern Japan is a singular fact."

On Psychology. Tōju teaches that ryōchi is not only a heavenly gift, innate in every man, but that it is Heaven itself. For example, he says: "Heaven and our mind are of one origin." "Wisdom 知 is the pure virtue of the heavenly reason,

26. Inouye, op. cit. p. 82.
27. Inouye, op. cit. p. 60.

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Chi Ryōchi, Attain Enlightenment. One of Tōju's basal precepts, written by himself in his youth.

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and of the divinely illumined mind." "One who is enlightened 明德者 is a person in whom dwells Jōtei." And since ryōchi and meitoku 明德 are interchangeable terms, it follows that ryōchi is equivalent to Jōtei. As Jōtei is the lord of the world, the macrocosmos 大體, so ryōchi is the lord of man, the microcosmos 個體. In one of his letters Tōju identifies ryōchi and the Tathagata or Nyōrai 如來 of Buddhism. But he does not stick to any one meaning or term for ryōchi, as will be evident after glancing at the following terms, all of which he uses in one place or another.

1. Tensei 天性 or Honshin 本心, heavenly or original nature.
2. Ri 理 or Tenri 天理, law, or heavenly reason.
3. Ki 氣, the passionate, or formative element in the world.
4. Kokoro 心 or Dōshin 同心, the mind or heart.
5. Shingo 眞吾, the true self.
6. Makoto, 誠, truth.
7. Hitori 獨, the absolute.
8. Meitoku 明德, enlightenment.
9. Chu 中, the central principle or the mean.
10. Kō 孝, filial piety as a universal principle.
11. Tenkun 天君, the heavenly or princely man.
12. Michi 道, the way.
13. Zen 善, the summum bonum, righteousness.
14. Setsuraku 說樂, joy or bliss.
15. Kōmei 光明, pure light.
16. Jin 仁, benevolence.
17. Rei 禮, propriety or harmony.
18. Zenchi 全知, omniscience.
19. Kōdai Muhen 廣大無邊, omnipresence.
20. Chōzai Fumetsu 長在不滅, the everlasting.
21. Seijin 聖人, the sage.

The above list is enough to show that the ryōchi of Tōju is in some of its aspects not unlike "conscience" as used by some modern ethicists, except that "conscience" is generally limited more particularly to the empirical side, while ryochi

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includes both the transcendental and the empirical. After trying to amalgamate all the phases of ryōchi into one clear, consistent whole, one is more convinced than ever that Toju was more of a mystic and poetic moralist than a critical philosopher. He is to be compared with St. John rather than with Descartes. Indeed, it is not straining the point to suggest that ryōchi bears some resemblance to the presentation of Christ in the Gospel of John as the Way, the Life, the Truth, the Light and the Logos.

On Knowledge. Tōju's view of the origin of knowledge or wisdom is evident from his conception of ryōchi. Knowledge being derived through ryōchi is, like ryōchi, transcendental or intuitive. What is not inborn but comes from external experiences casts a shadow over true intuitive knowledge. The kingdom of wisdom is within, waiting for experience and the need of action to bring it to light. In "Jindō Tosetsu" he says, in substance: "The natural mind is a clear mirror uncrossed by any image, except as it is full of the divine spirit. Everything is reflected as it is, without any action on the part of the mirror itself. It is better for the mind to be empty, since any accumulated knowledge hinders its natural action in reflecting things truly as they come".[28] This resembles Spinoza's doctrine that knowledge is inborn, and will retain its natural clearness if kept free from the disturbing influence of passion. Even Kant and Tōju, different as they are in general, are at one in their conception of the transcendence of knowledge. In this respect Toju most closely resembles the Vedantic conception, that through self-knowledge we attain to supreme and universal knowledge. We can imagine that Socrates, too, with his "Know thyself," would be glad to own kinship at this point with Tōju.

[28] Inouye, op. cit. p. 85.

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ETHICAL TEACHINGS

The Theoretical Side. In ethics the first thing to be settled, says Dr. Inouye, is the standard of good and evil. The idealist judges the goodness or badness of an action from the motive; the utilitarian, from the consequences. Tōju belonged heart and soul to the idealist school. He writes: "Moral worth inheres in our heart and not in our acts. Every act centripetal to ryōchi is good, and every act centrifugal from ryōchi is bad."[29] Thus ryōchi stands at the heart of his ethics. Whether expressed or not, it is the meridian base from which he surveys the whole field of morals. Let us now scan a few of the deductions he draws from ryōchi.

Tōju holds that since ryōchi is the groundwork of the world all mankind alike are possessed of it, much as conscience is attributed to all men by modern intuitionists. If our ryōchi were fully developed, then we would be divine. The voice within which cries out against our self-deception is ryōchi (reminding one of Socrates' *daimon*). In "Great Truths of Shintō 神道大義" he writes: "The kunshi or superior man is watchful over the workings of his own mind, known alone to himself. He denies himself all thoughts displeasing to the divine light of the world. He refrains from doing anything simply to win the praise of men. He may have evil thoughts and commit evil actions, but the divine light will show their real nature to him sooner or later. Then he will recover his original purity of mind. The *hoi polloi*, "bonpu," think and act evil, and in shame conceal it from others because their own ryōchi convicts them. There is in all men, whether good or bad, a divinity like a clear mirror."[30] Tōju conceived this divine spirit as immanent in us, somewhat like Christ, when He said: "Behold, the Kingdom of God is within you." In a letter to Nakanishi he sums up the matter by saying, "The real source of peace

29. Inouye, op. cit. p. 89.

30. Inouye, op. cit. p. 90. Cf. Romans 2.15.

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and joy for a kunshi is within himself 君子安樂の本體は吾人方寸の內にあり"; and again, "However illustrious our teacher may be, he cannot divine our secret thoughts. In distinguishing good and evil, if we revere the inner divinity it will prove to be the best teacher. 明師ありと雖も一念の微は知りがたし. 唯我れにありて善惡を知るの靈明を捧持する時は師我れにありて幽明の隔なし." [31] In passing, we may observe that Tʻju asserts the brotherhood of man in as clear and eloquent form as any non-Christian thinker. He says: "Since all creation is from the same great root, all the men within the four seas are connected branches." 萬の物皆大本より生ずれば四つの海の人悉く連れる枝なり. "If we look upon Heaven and Earth as the great parents of all men, then we and other men, whosoever bears the human form, are all brothers. Therefore, sages welcome the thought that all within the four coasts are one family, that the Middle Kingdom is like one man. To set up a barrier between ourselves and others and look upon them with aversion and contempt is the sign of a mean, misguided heart."[32]. Like Confucius—"All within the four seas are brothers," and Shaka—"Heart of pity toward all creatures," and Jesus—"Whosoever doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my sister and brother and mother," Tōju, in theory at least, looks upon all races as equal. It would be interesting to know whether he literally believed this noble sentiment, or whether, like some, if not all, of the Chinese sages, he limited its application to the "Greeks" of the Orient and looked upon all others as "barbarians." As he never came in contact, so far as we know, with aliens, we can only say that his attitude toward all classes of his fellow countrymen, at least, was democratic and unbiassed.

The problem of evil was the knottiest that Tōju wrestled with. He faced it bravely, but with only partial success. His starting point is that "ryōchi is good; if we follow ryōchi, good

31. Op. cit. p. 93.

32. 天地を萬民の大父母となして見れば. 我も人も人間のる程の者は. 皆兄弟然る故に聖人は四海を一家中國を一人と思召すとなり. 吾れと人との隔を立てゝけわしくうとみ憎りぬるは迷へる凡夫の心なり. Okina Mondō, I, Inouye, op. cit. p. 57.

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is constantly lord of our hearts. 良知則ち善なり・良知を致せば善常に心の主たり." Obedience to ryōchi results in noble and transparent character; disobedience results in mean, depraved character. The wide difference between the superior man and the mean man all arises from self-watchfulness on the part of the one and self-deception on the part of the other, and hence the latter can surely be turned into the former if he fully obeys ryōchi. It is the shojin (mean man) who is afraid of the eye of others, and indulges in evil when alone. The very fact that he affects to be good and conceals his evil ways in the presence of a kunshi is proof that ryōchi is not dead in him.[33] But the kunshi is conscientious even when secure from the gaze of any other human being. The centre of the superior man is within. Conscious of the friendship of the divine light of heaven and earth, he acts with self-control because he reverences himself. Hence self-reverence[34] or fidelity to his true self, i.e., obedience to ryōchi, is the key-note in the character of the superior man. The question naturally arises, what leads a man to disobey ryōchi, if it is really the fundamental, inherent reality of his nature? How can the naturally good heart be the source of evil desire? Tōju attempts two solutions. The first is that desire has nothing to do with ri, the noumenal, spiritual nature, but originates in ki, the passionate, phenomenal nature. (Cf. St. Paul's "the flesh and the spirit.") And yet he will not admit that ki is essentially evil. The second solution is that desire lies latent in the background of the mind until aroused and brought into play by a selfish thought. That is, like Shaka and Schopenhauer, Tōju makes the will in its blind and carnal activity the

33. Inouye, op. cit., p. 95. The conclusion of this passage is striking: "The workings of ryōchi, though hidden in the bosom, are really evident to the eyes of all men.—The true nature of our mind, whether good or bad, can never remain long concealed. It may be hid for a while, but in the end it will be disclosed 善悪共ニ内ニ蔵アリテ・外ニ顕ハルルコト・カクレナシ・外ヘ一旦ハ善悪共ニカクレテモ其實ハ悉ニ知レヌト云フコトハナキゾ." This is a remarkably close parallel to Christ's words: "Fear them not therefore: for there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed; and hid that shall not be known."

34. Reverence 敬 seems to mean reverence for one's heaven-bestowed good nature, to defile which would be impious, much like St. Paul's exhortation to be pure because we are the temple of the Holy Ghost.

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ultimate source of evil and suffering. It is evident, however, that neither of these attempted solutions is conclusive.

When it comes to the overcoming of evil desire Tōju parts company with Buddhism and asserts that the will is not to be destroyed, but made pure, by the cultivation of ryōchi. And the best method of cultivating ryōchi is by "Chichi kakubutsu 致知格物." "Chichi" means attaining supremacy for ryōchi over the selfish will. "Kakubutsu" means making the five processes of seeing, speaking, hearing, thinking and appearance all correct.[35] "Kakubutsu" is the means; "chichi" is the end. Hence "kakubutsu" may be considered the starting point of practical morality. Tōju finds support for this rather Buddhistic doctrine in the Confucian classics themselves, for instance, in the opening words of "Great Learning," "To rest in the highest excellence 止於至善." He explains these words to mean the firm, motionless state of the mind in attaining to the substance of ryōchi, a meaning not unlike "Shikwan 止觀" or "Sammai 三昧" in Buddhism. But here again, despite apparent resemblances to Buddhism, Tōju conceives 止 (to stop or rest) not as the stoppage of all desire at a certain point, but as the determination of the right centre and foundation for all true desire and action.[36] It is not withdrawal from the world, but taking a right attitude toward the world. This is quite different from the nihilism of Buddhism, indeed, more like the positiveness of Christianity. He quaintly sums up the contrast in this verse:

"Shizen ni todomari nureba kurushimi no
Umi no mizu hite tanoshimi no kuni,
至善ニ止マリヌレバ.若シミノ.海ノ水ヒテタノシミノ國"

which may be translated: "To attain to supreme virtue and rest there impassive, would be as joyless as a paradise whose seas had been dried up."

But if the evil will is persisted in, penalty is inevitable, for Tōju believes in 因果應報 Ingwa ōhō, the law of cause and effect, or of retribution for the acts of all previous existences.

35. Cf. the Yoga of India, in which these processes are controlled by severe self-discipline.

36. He identifies 止 with 中 (the Mean) in "The Doctrine of the Mean."

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Thus he says: "There are six curses, viz., first, doing evil with a bad heart and being cut off in the midst of life; second, illness; third, poverty; fourth, sorrow; fifth, the willing choice of sin, great badness; sixth, knowing the truth and acknowledging it, but not obeying it. These are the six punishments the way of Heaven always decrees to the wicked. These awards are eternal, unchangeable like the variations of the seasons.[37] But he believes that peace or pain is self-determined, for Heaven is generally only a name for the moral order. "The power of giving or denying gifts to men is in Heaven, but the secret of gaining or losing them is in one's own mind. If one improves himself by self-examination and watchfulness, one will gain heavenly gifts. But if one deceives himself and is distracted by worldly things, Heaven will take gifts away from him to hi, own loss."

In other places he makes the punishment even more clearly subjective, as in this striking verse:

"Tanoshimi mo mata kurushimi mo yoso natazus
Tada ichinen no jigoku gokuraku.
たのしみも又くるしみもよそならず.ただ一ねんのぢごく.ごくらく."

This may be rendered:

"Pain and pleasure only from oneself proceed:
Hell and paradise are by the heart decreed." [38]

This sentence in Okina Mondō also suggests the same truth: "An evil heart includes all other curses. When the heart is darkened, sights and sounds are painful; even without outward sorrow there is no rest. Thus it is that the law holds—virtue brings happiness and vice misery."[39]

THE PRACTICAL SIDE

Aspiration. The first essential in practical ethics is aspiration, that is, aspiring to be a seijin (saint) through moral culture. Tōju says, "If one have aspiration, everythinge in nature becomes his teacher, and if one lack it, he could learn

37. Knox, op. cit. pp. 170–1.

38. This puts one in mind of Milton's lines:
"The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, and a Hell of Heaven." Par. Lost. Bk. I.

39. Knox, op. cit. p. 171.

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nothing even were a Confucius to come to him. A true aspiration masters a man. Hence Confucius said, "A commander of vast armies may be defeated, but the aspiration of the commonest person is indomitable."—We must distinguish between the true aspiration after morality and the false aspiration toward the mean objects of life, which have only a temporary charm and lead us into endless disgrace." (Cf. John. 6:34.) "Think of yourself as a citizen of the universe (literally, a man living between heaven and earth); if Heaven is your teacher and the divine light is your companion, you will have no desire to make requests of other men."
天地の間に.已れ一人生きてあるさ思ふべし.天を師さし.神明を友さすれば.外人に頼る心なし.

Enlightenment. Next to aspiration the mind must attain enlightenment, that is, be made free from bewilderment and doubt. Passion and moral doubt may overcloud ryōchi, but as soon as they are dispelled, ryōchi sheds her bright light again like a cloudless sun. In Okina Mondō, Tōju declares, "Men may be divided into two classes, the darkened or bewildered 迷, and the enlightened or understanding 悟. The former includes ordinary, mean persons, while the latter includes the saint (seijin), the kunshi, and the buddha. Bewilderment come out of one and the same mind. When overclouded with passion, the light of conscience becomes indistinct and dark like a moonless night. Then we call it "mayoi no kokoro," the doubtful or bewildered mind. But when it is purified through accumulated moral culture, it is clear and bright with the light shed by the full moon of the heart. Then we call it "satori no kokoro," the enlightened mind."

Self-mastery. Enlightenment can only be won as the result of self-mastery, the taproot of all morality. "When we are tempted by external things, the fault is in us, and not in those things. If devils are driven out of our mind through self-denial, there is no demon under the sun that can disturb us."[40] As is often the case, Tōju best conveys the subtler shades of his thought in a verse: "As the moon resting on the

40. "But every man is tempted, when he is drawn away of his own lust, and enticed." James 1:14.

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water quiets the waves even below the surface, so the quiet heart calms all one's desires. 靜なる心の水に住む月のかくるゝ波の時に定むる."

Perseverance. Perseverance alone will win the precious fruits of self-discipline. "In order to cultivate virtue we must act rightly every day. Every time we gain one in goodness we subtract one in evil. If right is day by day pursued, evil will day by day retreat: the longer the day the shorter the night. If this were kept up long enough, how could one help becoming a good man? 吾人德を修むることを思はゞ日々に善をせん而已一善益すときは一惡損す. 日々に善をなさば. 日々に惡退くべし. 是れ陽長ずるときは陰消するの理なり."[41]

Independence of Others' Opinions. What others think of us is often too strong a factor in determining our actions. Tōju rebukes such servility in these words: "What the people of the age admire is done and what they disapprove is not done, without considering whether it is right or wrong in itself. Such conformists are shojin, small men. Praise elates and condemnation worries them. They are anxious about the outward form, but know not the heart of the way."[42]

Repentance. "Repentance is the road which leads from misfortune. One should not brood over a misdeed too long after repenting and making amends. When we recall our misdeeds after experiencing a change of heart, they should seem unrelated to us; we should no longer have any pangs of remorse. But if the recollection of them arouses a sense of shame, the root of our misdeeds is still hidden in us."[43]

Filial Piety. In Tōju filial piety, 孝 kō, holds such an important place that it will be worth while to consider it at length. In the narrow sense, kō is reverence toward one's parents. But Tōju, enlarging upon the ideas of the Chinese work, "Kōkyō Enshinkei 孝經援神契," interpreted it in the broadest sense, making it a transcendental principle, eternally existent, but expressed and applied in human relationships. How deeply his mind was stirred by the contemplation of kō

41. Inouye, op. cit. p. 109. Cf. "Many a mickle makes a muckle," and "The little foxes spoil the vines."

42. Op. cit. p. 111.

43. Op. cit. p. 113.

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may be seen in his "Kōkyō Shinpō 孝經心法," the first few lines of which are not unlike the prologue to St. John's Gospel:

"Before the heavens and the earth were conceived kō was the divine way of heaven. The Heavens, earth and man, yea, all creation, were conceived by kō. Spring and summer, autumn and winter, thunder and rain and dew had not been except for kō. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety and understanding are the principles of kō." He continues: "The five relationships 五典, and the ten virtues of relationship 十義 (i.e., lord and subject, parent and child, husband and wife, older and younger brothers or sisters, older and younger friends, and their appropriate virtues), are the seasons of kō. The womb of divine reason was in kō. It cannot be expressed or named. But if it is arbitrarily given a form, it is called kō." Then follows this interesting etymological digression. "The ideograph for kō 孝 is composed of the two ideographs, 老 and 子, i.e., an old man 老 leaning on a child 子. When they were written together they were abbreviated (匕 being left out). The reason of heaven before the heavens and earth were opened up was the elder 老, and ki 氣, the passionate principle, was the child 子. When the heavens and the earth had been opened up, heaven was the elder and the earth was the child. The universe (乾 坤 the primitive cosmos) was the elder, and the six elements were the child. The sun is the elder and the moon is the child. Eki 易[44] is composed of the characters 日 and 月, sun and moon. The meaning of 老 and 子 is the same as 日 and 月. 易, "The Book of Changes" and 孝經, "The Classic of Filial Piety," constitute one indivisible truth. Mountains are the elder; rivers are the child. The Middle Kingdom is the elder; the eastern barbarians (Japan), the southern barbarians (India), the western barbarians (Europe?), and the northern barbarians (Mongolia and Manchuria), are the child. The ruler is the elder; the subject is the child. The husband is the elder; the wife is the child. In the realm of the shaping of another person's character, the man of benevolence

44 The character used to cover the whole science of divination and the laws on which it is supposed to be based: also, the title of the classic, "The Book of Changes."

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The Divining Sticks and Hexagrams used by Tōju in Studying "The Book of Changes."

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is the elder, reciprocal affection is the child. Thus, when we look at all things in the light of this principle kō, we see that apart from it nothing has been produced. If we appropriate this principle in our own hearts, the result is pity (toward those below) and reverence (toward superiors)."

In Okina Mondō, I, he identifies the mysterious "靈 祕 reihō," the fundamental virtue or treasure, with kō. "Originally reihō had no name, but for the sake of teaching the ignorant, the sages called it kō. In these days, on the contrary, every one knows its name, even the young and foolish; but those who know its true nature are very few, even among the aged and learned. It may be considered as divided into "ai" and "kei." "Ai" is love and kindness to others, "kei" is reverence for superiors and consideration for inferiors. Kō is like a looking-glass: The glass reflects many shapes and colors, but itself is always unchanged; so kō reflects all the virtues but is itself unchangeable. All the virtues, obedience, loyalty, faithfulness, kindness, as they exist between the different ranks and relationships of society may be resolved into ai and kei, and these two are kō—the division into various duties being for convenience in teaching. And any one, even a little child five or six years old, can learn about this virtue, but even the aged and learned find its practice difficult.

"Question: I had supposed that kō meant filial obedience but now I perceive it embraces all the virtues.

"Answer: Kō dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has neither beginning nor end; without it is no time or any being; there is nothing in all the universe unendowed with kō. As man is the head of the universe, its image in miniature, kō endows his body and soul, and obedience to the way is the very pivot of existence."[45]

In another place he says: "Kō is the fundamental principle in the universe; it has neither beginning nor end."

These passages all present kō in its transcendental aspect, in which it may be identified with ryōchi. But Tōju also makes it a very mundane virtue, second to none in practical life. Thus, "There is nothing greater than kō, and kō knows

45. Knox, op. cit. p. 102.

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nothing more important than reverence to parents. We must put parents in the place of Heaven. The gods admire a filial spirit, and all virtue is included in this. To love others without loving our parents is mistaken virtue: Thus filial piety fulfills the law." And after exhausting his vocabulary in praising kō, he concludes his whole treatise with these words: "But when the sage appears, the divine, his virtue unites with heaven and earth, his light is one with sun and moon, he knows good and evil like gods and demons. Yet, after all, Confucius said: "Even in the virtue of a sage what is there beyond filial piety?"[46] More definitely, he says that kō implies "obedience, which is a debt we owe our parents. Consider how their pains and anxicties begin before birth, continue through childhood and youth, and how innumerable are the blessings we receive from them. Their love is higher than heaven and deeper than the sea. All men acknowledge the duty of gratitude, and filial obedience is merely showing the edge of gratitude. Even crows feed their parents, and lambs show their respect by stooping as they eat. It is the beginning of all the virtues, and when we forget it we cloud the soul with lust, dim the illustrious virtue, and are astray in the night. But man often forgets parents for the sake of those from whom he receives wealth, or for love of wife or concubine, forgetting that wealth is merely the ornament and the wife the pleasure of the body, while the body itself is the gift of parents. To neglect them is to show that we are not men. It follows that we are to be grateful and obedient even to those parents who forget their duties. Our duties to parents are to both mind and body. We are so to govern ourselves as to cause them no anxiety, to give them needful food, to provide medicine and nursing in illness, to mourn at their death, to bury them with the customary rites, to hang up the tablet and give it due worship; this is all included in filial obedience."[47]

Tōju's natural philosophy of kō in its practical aspect is a typical bit of naive reasoning: "Obedience to parents is the

46. Knox, op. cit. pp. 349, 350.
47. Knox, op. cit. pp 160-161.

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first step in the way. The reason is clear, since our bodies are derived from them. We must clearly perceive that our bodies are a part of our parents, and then serve them with love and reverence. If we seek for the origin of things we find that, as our bodies are divided from our parents but still one with them, so are their bodies divided from the spirit of heaven and earth, and the spirit of heaven and earth is the offspring of the Spirit of the universe ; thus my body is one with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this truth and acting in accordance with it is obedience to the way. Thus we shall be loving and reverent to parents, respectful and loyal to master, true to friends, just to wife, faithful to husband, not speaking falsely nor acting wrongfully even in little things, obeying the way with word and thought and deed—all this is included in the virtue kō. Even lifting hand and foot we must follow kō. All the errors of mankind arise from "self" as we think "this is my body," "this is mine"; but kō slays self. Even learned men are not true scholars when ignorant of this philosophy, still more are ignorant men near to the brute."[48]

A little farther on he gives a quaint explanation of why he makes the care of parents the primary duty only in the case of the common people: "They are to take care of their parents, loving them better than their own bodies, and being ready to serve them even at the expense of suffering to themselves.

"Question:—Why do you confine filial obedience to the common people?"

"Answer:—All above the rank of samurai cannot need this admonition. They have enough wealth and feel no temptation to neglect their parents; it is only the poor who can need this counsel."[49].

The results of unfilial conduct Tōju paints in dark colors: "Filial piety is the root of a man. If he lets it die, he becomes like a rootless tree. It were better for him to be dead in truth and escape such a living death. 這箇是人根若滅却此心則其生如無根之草木雖不死者. 幸免而已."

48. Knox, op. cit. pp. 102-103.
49. Knox, op. cit. p. 114.

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Loyalty. Tōju says little about loyalty as a distinct virtue, for he considers it to be a part of filial piety. It remained for his successors to put loyalty above filiality and thus contribute to Japanese Confucianism its most striking difference from its Chinese prototype. Tōju clearly gives precedence to filiality, holding that the most dutiful child would make the most faithful retainer. It was in accord with this conviction that he left the service of his feudal lord in Iyo and returned to Ogawa to give himself to the care of his mother. In the letter justifying his act he wrote: "Filial piety is the weightier and loyalty the lighter duty."

Humility. Like all the old masters, Tōju gives a prominent, almost the first place, to humility. "Unless the scholar first purges himself of his self-sufficiency and seeks the virtue of humility, with all his learning and genius he is not yet entitled to a position above the slough of the commonalty."[50] And again, "True learning is disregard of self, obedience to the way and the observance of the five relations. Its eyeball is humility."[51] His definition and illustration of humility is interesting: "Question:—"What is the greatest virtue for men of rank? Answer:—Humility. Not proud of rank, unselfish, considerate, benevolent, full of pity for others, respectful, hearing advice, distrustful of one's own wisdom, loving good and hating evil—this is humility. Taishun was Dai-sei-jin, and yethe asked for advice even in trifles and did not despise the counsel of men below him, but examined carefully to see if it conformed to the truth, adopting it if in accord, and rejecting it if opposed. For this Confucius praised him as one of the sages. When the son of Shukotan went to his province, his father said to him, "My father was the emperor, Bun-nō my brother, the emperor, Bu-ō my son is the emperor, Se-ō and my own rank is Sessho-chosai. There is no one my superior or equal, and yet while my hair is being dressed I stop three times to receive guests, and while I eat I spit out my food three times that I may welcome the gentry who call; still more do I fear to be rude to a superior man. Do not treat others

50. Uchimura, op. cit. p. 172.
51. Knox, op. cit. p. 246.

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with contempt, but reverence them." If a man of such position could use such an illustration to enforce this duty, no exhortation can be needed by men of lower rank."[52]

Patience or Stoicism. Tōju holds patience or stoicism, nin 忍, to be the running-mate of humility. It not only begets an even temper but purges the heart of the impurities of the lower nature. His etymology of the term is striking and would seem far-fetched unless one recalled that the Japanese "nin" has a more positive content than the English "patience." Nin means to reject evil as well as to endure it. He says: "The ideograph 忍 nin is composed of 刃, a sword, and 心 the heart. That is, if the self-accusing heart, weighed down with its own wickedness, will make itself a sword to cut off the accretions of wilful desire, then the result will be complete freedom. The heart will be swept clean of the devil of fame-hunger and the thief of low desire. Hence nin is the gate to all the virtues." With this etymology in mind the following poem by Tōju becomes intelligible: "One act of patience harmonizes the seven passions; two acts of patience bring the five blessings in a troop; habitual acts of patience make one's whole nature beautiful as springtime, and Utopia is brought down from the clouds."[53]

On Worship. As we close this section on Tōju's Ethics, it is interesting to notice his frank advocacy of the worship of gods and spirits. "Belief in gods and spirits is a part of Confucianism. In the "Classic of Filial Piety," to worship the father as Heaven and to serve the gods is considered the essence of piety. In the "Book of Rites" directions for the worship of the gods are given at length. Emperor, prince, ruler, scholar and commoner are to worship according to their various ranks and possessions, each rank and place having its appropriate duties. In the worship of ancestors and the teaching of Shintō we find agreement. We must worship ancestors according to rank and the customs of the country in which we dwell. The Buddhist exaltation of the hotoke above the gods is blasphemy."

52. Knox, op. cit. p. 251.
53. Inouye, op. cit. p. 122.

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In this connection we naturally inquire what Tōju's ideas were on the future life. I think all will agree that he had an exalted conception for his time:

"Question:—The students of magic can live long and never die, and the Buddhist becomes a hotoke rid of his corrupted body. Can Confucianism give such rewards after death?

"Answer:—Thorough study of the classics will banish such heretical doubts. The aim of both these systems is to control the heart and clear the original nature, and this when accomplished is called long life and becoming a hotoke. But after all these men do not understand the holy heart and thus are one degree below the wise man. As the knowledge imparted by Confucianism is higher than that gained in the other systems, so is its reward greater. As the sages have said, "Agreement with the original principle is true reason. The great Spirit of the Universe fills all the sky, calm, imperturbable, the source of all things. When man conforms to this great principle, though he disappear he does not become extinct. He returns to the primal spirit as a drop of water into the sea, as a vapor in the sky melts away. He is not destroyed, but continues as fire entering fire. Nor is there reason why he should not appear again, as the scattered vapor gathers again in a different form. Man at one with the spiritual law behind the universe is as imperishable as the universe itself. True wisdom comprehends this truth and knows perfect peace."[54]

We have now surveyed briefly the whole range of Tōju's ethical teaching. There is certainly much to admire and little to condemn. But perhaps the best thing we can say about it is that the Sage succeeded to an unusual degree in exemplifying it in his own life.

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54. Knox, op. cit. pp. 346, 347, 349. The quotation is from "The Book of Changes."

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VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT.

Ethics was the chief burden of Tōju's life and teaching. He rarely touched on politics, being made all the more reticent, perhaps, because the Yōmei doctrines were under the ban of the Government. But when he does discuss political principles, he bases them even more completely than Confucius or Mencius on ethical principles. He makes moral culture and government essentially one. "Government is the principle by which native virtue is clarified: learning (moral culture) is the art of governing the people of the world."[55] This reminds one of the naive views of Socrates and Plato, and it is encouraging to believe that modern rulers and scholars are sincerely espousing this same ideal, so deeply eclipsed in some periods of the world's history. Tōju extends this identity of learning and government by applying it also to learning and arms:

"Question: There is a saying that arms and learning are the two wheels of a wagon, the two wings of a bird. Are arms and learning two?

"Answer: It is a popular error, for men think learning consists in reading, writing and poetry and a mild disposition, and arms to consist in a fierce disposition, horsemanship, fencing and the like, while really there is no distinction between the two. No true learning is without arms and no true arms without learning. Learning governs empire, province, family and self in time of peace, and in accordance with the way, while arms restrain the unruly, punish the evil and carry on war. The root of arms is gi 義 and of learning jin 仁, and these two virtues are one. From these roots come the leaves and branches—letters, horsemanship and the like. Some men have the root without the leaves: they seem to be weak, but have strong hearts, and such men are many. Some men have the leaves but not the root, the accomplishments without the virtues: thus they are like sheep in the skins of tigers. Thus

55. Inouye, op. cit. p. 124.

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learning and arms are linked together like the two principles, in 陰 and yō 陽. It is impossible to conceive the one without the other."[56]

The severe ethical requirements of government are clearly expounded in Okina Mondō, I: "He who cannot rule self cannot rule an empire, and hence the emperor is to rule himself first of all. He should choose his officers with care, apportioning their duties according to their various abilities; he should rule justly and so that all his subjects may enjoy their natural rights and privileges; in short, as the father cherishes his children, so the father of the nation is to cherish his people. This is the virtue of kō as the son of heaven obeys it. The daimyō is to govern his own body and soul in accordance with the way, to see that the wealth of his dominion is preserved, to treat the officers of the emperor with respect and the lower officers with consideration, to look with pity on the farmers, and especially to care for the widows and friendless, and so to rule that the prosperity of the province may be long preserved. This is the duty of kō for the daimyō. The minister should be an example in conduct for other men. Thought, word and act must be for his lord and his country; nothing must be done for self, self-glory or self-interest. In times of peace the government is in his hands. In time of war he goes forth in command, and hence must be well versed in the art of war. He is to have a care that the worship of the gods and of ancestors is not neglected. The samurai must give single-hearted obedience; forsaking self, he must serve his master, he must be well versed in his duties, must be faithful to friends, careful of his words, seeking to do right in all things, and in time of danger be prepared to do his lord efficient service. The common people must do their work without laziness, accumulating wealth and not wasting it. They must fear the government and obey the laws."[57]

Again, further on in Book I he recurs to the subject, but with more emphasis upon duty and less on character: "The differences of rank and position are decreed by Heaven; so we

56. Knox, op. cit. p. 165.
57. Knox, op. cit. pp. 103-4.

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must hate and envy none. The lord must respect his ministers. To them he entrusts his dominion, reserving to himself only the powers of reward and punishment. As the samurai are the defence of his dominion, of course he will care for them ; and as the commonalty are the wealth of the empire, he will cherish them as a hen her chickens. The duties of the samurai may be summed up in single-hearted loyalty, the sacrifice of self for lord and country. He must serve his lord as he would his parents, for the lord is the nourisher of the body his parents gave. The samurai of rank must counsel his lord, giving good advice even though it prove distasteful, and dissuading from evil even at the sacrifice of life itself. The lower ranks are to do their duty without question, and in time of war to fight bravely and skilfully, while the men in command are to mature their plans though the enemy be still far distant. The common people are to manifest their loyalty by obeying the laws, paying their taxes and following diligently their trades, for they too are really retainers, though without salary. The lord, then, is to treat his retainers with kindness aud the retainers to obey loyally."[58]

With merciless logic Tōju, like Confucius, makes the ruler solely responsible for the weal or woe of his people :

"Especially must the lord be careful in choosing his ministers, since if they deceive him all manner of evils arise. Foolish rulers, however, choose men from fancy, as the magnet selects iron from the heap ; but thus, though there are wise men, since they are not employed it is as if they were not. While if the bad are not employed they can do no evil ; so after all the happiness and misery of the land rest on the heart of the ruler alone. He is responsible."

Tōju's reply to the question, "Should there be many and severe laws ?" makes one wonder what he would say if confronted with the massive law codes of Japan to-day :—"All depends on times, circumstances and ranks. We cannot decide once for all. The heart of the ruler is of first importance. Since the subjects imitate the ruler, if he is good they will be

58. Knox, op. cit. pp. 161-2.

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virtuous even without laws; if he is bad, laws are useless and sometimes evil increases with the severity of the punishment, as dirty water becomes dirtier with stirring and clears when left undisturbed."[59]

We cannot better end this section on Government than to quote Tōju's laconic answer as to how to study the art of government. "The Confucian learning," says he, "is the art of government. Learning polishes the illustrious virtue; the development of this wonderful, eternal virtue is the foundation of government."[60]

59. Knox, op. cit. p. 167.
60. Knox, op. cit. p. 168.

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ON LEARNING

With Tōju, ethics is the only learning. As we have already noted, he uses the term learning in the sense of moral much more than of mental culture. Learning is the means of attaining to the height of a seijin or saint, through the cutting out of selfish appetites and the unfolding of inborn wisdom. So in Okina Mondō, III, he says, "The substance of learning is clearing off mental impurities and improving our actions." Or, as he elsewhere declares, "The essence of learning is the recognition of the central reality, i.e., of ryōchi, and its unification with oneself." Although, as this sentence shows, he was by no means a literalist, he enthusiastically devoted himself to the exposition and application of the classics, among which he studied most ardently "The Book of Changes" and the "Classic of Filial Piety." But he tried to pierce to the heart of the old masters. Unlike other scholars of the age he was not enslaved by the latter. He says: "What we read is in fact only a commentary on our inborn nature. The commentary is useful only so far as we understand the text. If we do not recognize our ryōchi, but lose ourselves in the study of old writings, it is just like studying only the commentators instead of reading the original text."[61]

And again, he hurls these biting words against "false learning." "It is an empty reading and writing and a mere imitation of the fashions of famous men. In China there are also all sorts of 'isms and 'ologies; here in Japan there is this empty reading and writing and the Buddhist learning, but only the first of these is commonly meant by learning. It is a priest-like mumbling of words—reading, writing and making verses for the sake of wages or reward; going over the classics and other books as an exercise for mouth and eye. A very haughty thing is this learning of the world."[62]

61. Inouye, op. cit. p. 129.
62. Knox, op. cit. p. 163.

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In the supplement to Okina Mondō he writes: "The name Confucianist has reference to virtue, not to accomplishments. Literary culture is an accomplishment offering no great difficulties to a man endowed by nature with a good memory. But however proficient a man may be in literature, if he lacks a just and benevolent character, he is no Confucianist. He is simply a common man with knowledge of the classics. Whereas, an utterly illiterate man who has a pure and upright character is not a common man but an unlettered Confucianist."

Bold rebukes, these, to utter in an age when the jot and tittle were almost worshipped.

Contrasted with this, he goes on to describe "true learning" thus: "First, to fix the heart upon the illustrious virtue, then by the use of the classics as our teacher, ruling word and act, to polish the rough jewel, the illustrious virtue of our hearts." Again, in Okina Mondō, III, he says: "True reading is the reading of our heart by our heart. The heart of the old sages must be made the mirror where the workings of our own heart are reflected. Reading the letters with our eyes alone is no true reading at all."[63] Tōju's implicit confidence in the moral potency of the true learning is reflected in this illustration in the supplement to Okina Mondō: "Pain and anxiety are only in the feelings of men, are a self-inflicted sickness. The heart is like the eye which naturally opens freely and sees things vividly. But if a particle of dust gets into the eye it loses the power to open and shut freely and can no longer see clearly. The pain, moreover, is excruciating. But when the dust has been taken out, the eye regains its essential nature and opens and shuts freely and sees clearly again. Just so the original nature of the heart is to be contented and happy, but when the dust of passion gets in, all sorts of grievous pains arise. It is because learning shows the way back to original happiness by washing away the dust of passion that it will, if diligently pursued and heeded, restore the former happiness of the heart." To Tōju, communion with the spirit of the old masters was merely a potent means of letting ryōchi have full sway, driving out the

63. Inouye, op. cit. 130.

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lower nature by what Chalmers would have called the expulsive power of a noble affection.

ON EDUCATION

As we should expect, Tōju's educational aim was the móralization of his pupils. Intellectual and physical culture were quite secondary. He summed up the teachings of the sages into one word, Practice the way. He tried to inculcate his convictions by example, even more than by precept. In Okina Mondō, I, he nobly asserts that "The true, fundamental education is moral culture, taught not by the mouth, but by living according to the way, so that our lives avail to change others. 根本眞實の教化は德教なり口にては教へずして我身を立て道を行ひて人の自ら變化するを德教と云ふ."[64]

He clearly realized the importance of beginning moral training from the earliest childhood. In Okina Mondō, I, he writes:

"The first duty of the parent is to instruct the child in the "way." Temporary instruction and kindness without regard for the future is fictitious love—a mere fondness like the fondness of cow for calf. To neglect to teach the way and care only for accomplishments is to forget that if the child is not virtuous it will be cast off by gods and men and be hated at last by the parents themselves. The builder and the destroyer of the house is the child, so do not confuse the beginning and the end, and, making wealth and rank of first importance, think virtue of small account. All must be taught the way, yet with a due regard for natural capacity and endowments. Remember that the most efficient teaching is by example, and that the education begins at once and not with reading and writing." And he added a characteristically oriental point: "The parents must give a profession to the son and in time get him a wife."[65]

64. Inouye, op. cit. p. 134.
65. Knox, op. cit. p. 161.

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Tōju also recognized the value of music, which, he says, "softens and ennobles the heart, and makes easy the changing of customs and the reform of bad habits." Moreover, it is noteworthy that Tōju was an ardent advocate of woman's education in an age when education was considered necessary to men only. "Composing poetry and reading songs may be ill-suited to woman's proper work, but many women have cultivated such arts and no one has thought it strange, and it would be unreasonable to condemn them, for they conduce to that control of the heart which is held to be woman's first duty. There are still other reasons for giving women a broader culture, Woman is an embodiment of the negative principle (陰氣 literally, obverse or shadow) and is by nature excitable, narrow-minded, violent, and prone to envy and bitterness. She is shut up in the house day in and day out and her training tends to throw her back upon herself: her outlook is narrow. Hence, it comes to pass that women of large tolerance and straightforward honesty are so rare. Buddhism has accordingly branded women as so steeped in sin that they can hardly hope to become buddhas. Therefore we must admit that it is quite unreasonable to deny women the broadening influence of moral culture."[66] Six volumes of his "Kanso" were specially devoted to this theme, so that Tōju may rightly be considered the forerunner of Kaibara Ekken's "Great Learning for Women."

Incidentally, Tōju throws light on the means of popular education in the idyllic ages of China, and perhaps, of Japan: "In the time of the ancient sages there was a school in every village. For the local official, the representative of the Government, himself acted as teacher of the way according to the classics, during the intervals of tilling the soil. Thus even simple men and women were enabled to grasp the central principles of the classics. Although they could not read a single ideograph, they mastered their real meaning and developed a nobility and self-control that have never been equalled by the ordinary

66. Inouye, op. cit. p. 136.

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book-worms of our day, who, in the words of the proverb, 'Read the "Analects" but do not read them.'"

Closely allied to "Education" is the topic of "The Family", on which Tōju touches in Okina Mondō in a way that would hardly command assent from modern readers:

"The husband is to love his wife, and yet not overmuch, lest he neglect his parents and brothers. The men who have brought ruin on family and kingdom by disregarding this rule have been innumerable. And yet not to love at all is also an evil, since by the wife he has the blessing of offspring and the worship of descendants. But let the love have limits as above set forth. The wife is to reverence and obey her husband. She must be gentle, quiet and faithful. Her husband is in the place of heaven. His parents take the place of her parents, and thus obedience to father-in-law and mother-in-law becomes the first of her duties. She must be a peacemaker, practice the virtues of a good house-keeper, and raise children. A man has his duties out of the house, and a wife within; and so it is written in the third place "Fu-fu betsu ari."

"The younger brother is to reverence and obey the older, as is indeed always the duty of juniors to seniors but especially to the elder born of our parents. The elder has a twofold duty—something of that of the parent and something of that of the friend. He is to help his brother; befriend him, teach him, and most of all to guide aright. This is our duty to all who are younger, but especially to the younger born of our parents."[67]

When it comes to the purity of the family, we find Tōju bowing to the accepted doctrine of his age. He says: "Not to commit adultery and rei 禮 (propriety) look somewhat alike, but rei includes the duty of reverence and consideration for others, from the emperor to the lowest of men, with the duty of kindly intercourse, and all the ceremonies of life and death. To compare the two is to put a gill of water against the great sea. The command not to commit adultery is against nature, for it forbids the possession of more than one wife—a command adapted to the common people; but as we consider the

67. Knox, op. cit. p. 162.

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importance of offspring, we see that it is proper for the higher ranks to have more than one, and this according to rank, the Emperor having most. And what disgraceful, brutish evils result from the precept denying a wife to the priests."[68]

ON MARTIAL VIRTUES

Man of peace though he was, Tōju was quite up on the art of the soldier. No doubt the rather distasteful military discipline of his boybood at Ōsu left its impress upon him. At any rate, we find in Okina Mondō many shrewd observations on the character and work of the man of arms, sufficiently interesting to quote at length.

"It is often said that learning is for monks and priests but not for samurai, since those who love it are lazy. If a samurai is learned it is rather a reproach to him. Samurai sneer at learning from envy and the desire to conceal their own defects. Minamoto Yoshitsune and his great retainer Benkei far excelled all the men of their time in learning, and these were the paragons of samurai—always successful and never defeated. The proper place for men without learning is in the fields and cutting wood. There are brave men among those with accomplishments and among those without accomplishments, but if we have true learning we always have true bravery; as the Ron-go says, the virtuous man is always brave though the brave is not always virtuous. We have the distinction as stated between virtuous bravery and youthful, natural bravery."

"Question: What is the difference between virtuous bravery and youthful bravery?

"Answer: The bravery of the wise man consists in obeying the way, being true to principle and desiring nothing else. He is ready to give up life itself in the service of parent or lord. He neither loves life nor fears death, and thus has destroyed the root of cowardice. He fears nothing in heaven

68. Knox, op. cit. p. 256.

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or earth, and though he face a million enemies he is like a wolf facing a fox. This bravery rests on the virtues and is called the bravery of jin 仁 and gi 義, and since it has no enemy in heaven or earth it is called great bravery. Youthful bravery is unreasoning like the bravery of a brute: hence it sometimes shows itself in rebellion, or if the man be of low rank, in thieving. Its foundation is lust; in time of victory it appears well enough, but in time of defeat it shows its ignominious character by deserting its lord. It seems like true valor, but it is properly called youthful bravery and little bravery.

"Question: Are both kinds of bravery useful?

"Answer: The great can never be out of place. There is no true righteousness without it. It is of use to general and soldier alike. The small is of use in the soldier, but if the general possesses it alone he never can conquer. From this cause many generals have been defeated both in China and Japan.

"Question: Is there an art of strategy and tactics, and how shall it be learned?

"Answer: The art of war came from the book called Yeki, and the old Chinese systems are of value, while the books written in Japan are useless. We may learn the principles from books, but these must be adapted to circumstances, or we shall be like the son of the famous general who was thoroughly instructed by his father, but becoming a general himself was defeated and became a laughing-stock to heaven and earth. So, first of all, we are to learn the Confucian learning and then we shall be able to master any particular science and its application.

"Question: What is the proper examination for samurai?

"Answer: There are three grades of samurai. The first endowed with great bravery, obedient to virtue, skilled in accomplishments. The second is not so well instructed in the truth, but loyal, unselfish, and skillful; but the third is selfish and full of lusts. As these last are many the lord has need for caution. Further, there are three examinations: in virtue, capacity and accomplishments. Virtue is the union of jin and gi, learning and arms; capacity, the power to govern with

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wisdom in all things, accomplishments, skill in law, in service, in overcoming difficulties and in conquering enemies. These are the pillars of the examination, and rank and salary are to be bestowed in accordance therewith. The heart of the ruler was the mirror of the law of old. If the mirror were clouded, all examinations must fail; if the lord excelled in virtue, it was impossible to palm off a false skill upon him."

"Question: It is related in the Analects that when the Duke of Yei asked Confucius about warfare he replied: "If you should wish to know how to arrange sacrificial vessels I will answer you, but about warfare I know nothing." How then can you say that he knew the art of war?

"Answer: In war the most important things are the heart and the time. When a virtuous heart accords with the right time we have virtuous war, but from an evil heart in rebellion against the proper time we have evil war, like robbery. In the case mentioned, the purpose was evil, and hence the reply of Confucius. He knew nothing of such evil warfare.

"Question: Should we not learn the art of war in the field without books?

"Answer: A one-sided opinion. Of course a mere study of the rules without regard to varying circumstances is useless. Even great talents are increased by study, as the dull grow duller by neglect of them. There never was a really great general not well read in his profession; like the physician, he must know the disease, the patient and the remedy, or he will be a terror and not a blessing. It is true that sometimes the patient of an ignorant physician may get well by the power of nature, and in spite of his ignorance, and so a general may gain the victory over a weaker foe by fate, though he is not well instructed; but it will not be true success.

"Question: If fate be with us, shall we not win in any case?

"Answer: We must consider virtue, talent, force, and fate. Virtue is this virtue of arms and letters as described above; talent is the power of moving men at will—wisdom in war, prescience of enemies' plans, knowledge of the forces of heaven and earth; force is preponderance of strength; fate is our

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natural destiny. Virtue conquers talent, talent overcomes force, and force is superior to fate. If virtue and talent balance, fate wins; then, too, in the last extremity, as the destruction of a nation, fate conquers in spite of virtue and talents.

"Question: Suppose all four are equal?

"Answer: Like equal players at go, it is impossible to say why either wins.

"Question: Describe the sage, superior man, hero and adventurer.

"Answer: The sage excels all men in all things and is divine; the superior man is one degree below the sage and does not attain to the divine; the hero in other things is one degree below superior man, but in war is his equal; the adventurer has the military talents of the hero but lacks his virtues. Sage, superior man, and hero bless the land in war or peace; the adventurer is useful only in war and often brings evil on the land. He is to be employed for his talents' sake, but cautiously, and is not to be entrusted with too much power or given too high rank.

"Following duty, though a man be slain there is not a wound upon him; but wanting virtue, though he live to fourscore and die in peace he is as disgraced as the wretch who is beheaded or sawn asunder."[69]

On the besetting vice of the soldier and the ruler, the desire for fame, Tōju says:

"Question: But suppose with lust of place and power we forsake also the desire for the good of our fellows, shall we not fall into sin?

"Answer: Desire for fame is higher than desire for rank and wealth, and its results are often good. When a man without fixed principles becomes indifferent to the opinion of others, he falls into evil. But for the followers of truth there is a higher test. Truth and holiness form the substance, reputation is the shadow. Because the virtue reigns in the heart the name is gained. Thus we have the approbation of the sages. Wise men do not desire the name without the virtue: they value it only as a reflection of truth; they are

69. Knox, op. cit. pp. 245, 166-167, 249-250, 350.

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not indignant though their good deeds be unobserved. The lord of So greatly desired slender-waisted women, and the fleshy women of his court starved themselves to death seeking to reduce their size. Men who desire popular fame may be compared to these - they approve whatever their time applauds with small regard to right and wrong; we who know the Shingaku (heart learning) think such conduct shameful and carefully avoid it "[70]

In a little poem Tōju puts the same idea thus:

"A prison there is outside of prisons,
Large enough to hold the world:
Its four strong walls are love of fame
And gain and pride and selfish will.
Alas! So many sons of men
Are chained therein and mourn for aye."

ON HERESY

In common with the whole Yōmei School, Tōju was indebted for not a few of his points of view to Buddhism, especially to the Zen philosophy, but this very fact led him to emphasize the vital points of difference so as to make sure that no one could suspect him of proclaiming merely a new phase of Buddhism. One vital difference is his view concerning desire, already referred to under the head of "Ethical Teaching." While both Tōju and Buddhism aim to get rid of selfish desire, Tōju has no sympathy with the Buddhist doctrine of the extermination of desire, resulting in a benumbed manhood. He advocates a purification of desire and its energetic direction toward self-mastery and self-culture. He says: "The unselfish spirit of the way recognizes righteousness but scorns self-interest. Freedom from desire means following righteousness without a selfish heart. It means taking or paying what is rightly due, laying up what should be laid up, and giving away what should be given away . . . . Desire or freedom

70. Knox. op. cit. p. 348.

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from desire depends simply on loyalty or disloyalty to unselfish, righteous motives."

Shaka and Dharma were Tōju's particular bête noire. In Okina Mondō, III, he thus inveighs against Shaka:

"Shaka, when nineteen years old, forsook his throne and betook himself to the desert; at the age of thirty he proclaimed his system. At times he appeared as a beggar, but he did not insist upon the five virtues, and with many inventions he deluded the vulgar. His followers did not appreciate his purpose but copied his conduct and his inventions, and thus became worse and worse. Thus at last we hear of a matricide being praised as excelling in filial piety, and that the vilest criminals by the power of religion can enter heaven."[71]

"The fallacy of considering it selfish to keep one's social rank and unselfish to abdicate it, or the accumulation of wealth as selfish and the abandonment of it as unselfish, arises simply from the want of absolute independence of the mind from worldly concerns. It is because a man is not yet perfectly free from the charms of objects commonly sought by men that he suffers all sorts of anxieties about them. The mind of a seijin is not engrossed by such things. He is full of divine light; he is all gentleness. He commands a perfect mastery of himself in face of such attachments and anxieties. High rank is not condemned nor a lowly station assumed to be worthy in itself. Wealth is not considered as the mark of selfishness nor its abandonment as a proof of unselfishness. The spirit of obedience to the divine light in ourselves justifies everything we do and the opposite spirit makes all actions mean, whether positive or negative in their outward form. The selfishness or unselfishness of actions depends upon the state of the heart. ("As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.") It is only a superficial view that would determine the moral worth of actions from their external appearance. Had Shaka been truly enlightened, he would not have deserted his palace. He would have looked upon the station in which he was placed as most holy ground. He would have preached his

71. Knox, op. cit. p. 255.

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gospel to the people in the very robes in which he was dressed. A hermit's clothing had no power to make him more consecrated. Seclusion from society had nothing to do with his enlightenment. It was his own heart, still only partly purified, that defiled him, and not his living in a royal palace. His heirship to a kingly throne could not make him worse: it was his own heterodoxy that did so."[72]

Such was Shaka to sham-hating Tōju. He hurled similar criticisms against Dharma and other masters of the Zen School, who like Shaka seemed to Tōju to undermine the social order. He went so far as to denounce Buddhism as having been from the first an unmitigated curse to the world. In this, of course, he was extreme; for was not Oriental art begotten by Buddhism, literature enriched by it and philosophy, including Yōmei, deepened by it? But Tōju had in view only practical morals, to which Buddhism made but an infinitesimal contribution.

But Tōju was an impartial hater, holding many of the later Chinese schools, also, to be beneath contempt. In reply to the query "What do you mean by sciolist?" he replies:

"Men with much knowledge of the surface of things, but ignorant of the essential principles. They have carelessly taken up the study of religion and become quickly learned. In China, Kyō-yu So-fu, Bokuhi Soseki and Shisoko Soshi, and in India, Shaka and Dharma were the chief representatives of this class. These men are somewhat less than the superior man.

"Question: How can you class those Chinese whose teachings never obtained much currency with the others, whose systems extended even to China and Japan?

"Answer: The teaching of the sages are like the light of the sun. In India there were no sages, but only this superficial knowledge, and so in India Buddhism, instituted in accordance with the customs of barbarians, had great influence. By the decree of fate there were no sages or superior men in China, likewise, after the time Senkoku. In this time of darkness came the Buddhist system and prospered. In the noonday of the teaching of the sages its dissemination would have

72. Inouye, op. cit. p. 141.

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been impossible: in proof, consider the systems of Kyō-yu and Soseki. At that time, as there was communication with Japan, the Buddhist system came hither also. Now these men, Shaka and Dharma, pitied the misery of mankind and sought by all sorts of devices to lead their fellows to virtue and the avoidance of sin. But they lived among barbarians and formed a one-sided system; the holiness they counselled was not genuine, but was rather opposed to the truth and an obstacle to the true way."[73]

Toward Shintō, however, his attitude was quite liberal. For some years he was averse to worshipping at any shrine except that of his ancestors. But later on his views changed and he paid a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise and to that of Sugawara Michizane in Dazaifu. He even went so far as to advocate a compromise between Shintō and Confucianism. In "Shintō Taigi" he makes an interesting attempt to syncretize the two. His argument runs thus: The three cardinal virtues of Shintō are honesty 正直, love 愛敬 and simplicity 無中. Corresponding to these in the "Doctrine of the Mean" are the three virtues 1) chi 知 (2) jin 仁 and (3) yu 勇. (1) In identifying honesty and chi, he says that honesty is like a mirror which reflects exactly, "i.e., knows fully, everything good or bad that passes before it. Thus the divine Light sees even the hidden thoughts of our hearts, and we ourselves know them too. Hence the superior man, whose heart is honest or enlightened, keeps a watch over himself, lest he do or think anything displeasing to the divine Light of heaven and earth or disgraceful in the eyes of men. Even when he has done something wrong, he will recognize it by virtue of his conscience (神知 lit divine knowledge), and will repent at once. Thus, if the divine Light in the heart shines unhindered, concealing neither good nor evil, honesty will prevail in public and private; body and mind will be sound and free from fear or shame." (2) "Love or reverence is at the root of all virtue. It fills us, when lower passions have been got rid of. It shows us the identity of ourselves and of other selves, of man and the universe. When possessed by

73. Knox, op. cit. p. 252.

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love we feel no selfish motive and our heart is at peace. In every state it keeps us content. For while honor and wealth give us the opportunity to educate others, poverty and obscurity give us leisure for our own improvement. In life we act our part and in death we rest. The kunshi never loses self-mastery." (3) "Tranquility is akin to courage, for without a certain knightliness, tranquility of soul is impossible. Common people do all kinds of improper things, but men of generous, gallant nature overlook their shortcomings, and magnify their good deeds. They are always magnanimous and mild and consequently exercise great influence over others. Their simplicity and equanimity take men captive. All these three virtues, honesty, love and magnanimity, must go together in a true man"[74]

Such is Tōju's argument. Some of the resemblances which he fancied he saw may seem rather far-fetched to a critical mind. And making all reasonable allowance for his semi-poetic tendency, we must conclude that Tōju's wish was at least step-father to the thought. But with the three Shintō symbols he comes nearer making his case: The mirror stands for the clear intellect, free from prejudice and illumined by wisdom; the jewel represents impartial, generous love; while the sword typifies long-suffering fortitude, and a knightliness that shrinks from wanton destruction.

Dr. INOUYE'S CRITICISMS

In concluding our survey of Tōju's teachings, we may profitably note Dr Inouye's Criticisms, as much for the side-lights they throw upon Dr. Inouye's own views, particularly regarding Christianity,[75] as for their elucidation of Tōju. I summarize:

74. Inouye, op. cit. p. 146-8.

75. Dr. Inouye is said to have modified his views on Christianity a little recently.

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Tomb of Nakae Tōjn.

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Tōju's philosophy, as we have seen, presents not a few points of resemblance to Buddhism, but they are more superficial than the points of difference. Buddhism is pessimistic, seeking for nirvana, which is deliverance from the evil world. Tōju is optimistic and upholds the present social order.

On the other hand, Tōju's views are not unlike Christianity. In the first place, his idea of God as Heavenly Ruler (Jōtei) and the Christian Heavenly Father have some similarity. The ancient Chinese seem to have believed in the personality of the Heavenly Ruler as attested by Shikyō, the "Book of Odes," Shokyō 書經 "Records," etc. Later, the philosophers of the Sung dynasty, e.g., Shushi, gave the term a morer ationalistic interpretation. But Tōju believes firmly in a personal Jotei and aspires to union with him. (Although Prof. Inouye may be warranted in asserting that Tōju had so personal a conception of Jōtei, there are many passages which indicate a vague, pantheistic conception; e.g., "Ten (Heaven) distributes its mind throughout all creation. Therefore it has no (individual) mind. The benevolence (of Ten) is one with all creation. Therefore it has no (individual) desire." (Inouye, op. cit. p. 93.) And Prof. Inouye himself goes on to modify the statement as follows). But Tōju considers Jōtei to be the substance of his own self. That is, Jōtei is ryōchi, the commander of all his actions, descended from heaven and resident in his own heart. Obedience to ryōchi is therefore obedience to Jōtei within us, and is the source of all human happiness. "The true substance of joy and peace for a kunshi is found within his own breast."

In the second place, the Jōtei of Tōju is infinite love. "With true and generous love Jōtei created the world and fixed the bounds of mankind."[76] (Cf. Acts 17:23). But Tōju also declares that the universe was created by the filial principle, kō, which is infinite benevolence or love. Hence, Jōtei is infinite and absolute love, very much like the love of the Christian Heavenly Father. Moreover, as we have already seen, Tōju believed in the infliction of punishment by Jōtei [77].

76. Inouye, op. cit. p. 151.
77. This point is brought out in his "Genjin Ron" and "Taijo Taisotsu Shinkyō."

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Dr. Inouye continues: Observing these resemblances, some Christians may claim Tōju as a pre-Christian Christian, "an elder of the Church without hearing the gospel." But this would be a rash and unwarranted conclusion: as the proverb runs, "It knows two and five, but does not know ten. 二五を知りて末だ十を知らず" Tōju differs radically from Christianity at several points. Imbued with the social spirit of Confucianism, he aimed, like Christianity, to be sure, at the reformation of society, but his ideal of human equality does not, like Christianity, make light of the relations of subjects to lords and of children to parents. Rather, he sought to cement these relations more firmly. On the whole, Tōju's teaching is concerned with this present world. If he soared into the realm of ultimate ideas it was simply that he might make the basis of practical ethics more secure. He never sought an unworldly or other-worldly solution. Christianity, on the other hand, aims to set up its kingdom outside of the social order. The relation of men to the Heavenly Father alone is emphasized and a disturbance of the peace, not only of the family, but also of the country, is not objected to.[78] 天父に對する關係のみを尊重し……一家の中は勿論一國の中と雖も不和を來たすを意とせざるなり. The two roads may seem to diverge but a hair's breadth, but in their effect upon national welfare their goals are a thousand ri apart. Christianity sacrifices mundane to extramundane relations. If Tōju were living to-day, he would undoubtedly attack Christianity just as he attacked Buddhism, in order that his own doctrine might be saved from pollution. 佛教を斥排せしが如く耶蘇教を排斥せしならん. 人をして両者を混同すること莫らしめしならん Tōju was no slavish follower of the old masters. He insisted upon the necessity of distinguishing between the unchangeable essentials and their changing application. He says: The "way" and the methods or forms are quite distinct. To mistake forms for the "way" is a grave error. Although the methods may have been given by sages of the Middle Kingdom, they must be changed from age to age. Particularly,

78. One wonders whether Dr. Inouye has carefully read the New Testament or the history of Christianity.

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when transferred to Japan many of them are quite impracticable." Again, he says: "When time and place change, even saints' laws, if forced upon the world, are injurious to the cause of the truth." Tōju applied this principle to Chinese etiquette and literary style, even in violation of the teaching of Confucius himself. As, for example, when he writes: "The precepts and deeds recorded in the Analects are wise and sacred, but if they do not fit in with our times, I tell my pupils to omit some portions and I expound only the essential parts." Tōju recognized that the doctrine was made for the Japanese, not the Japanese for the doctrine. In this respect he differs widely from Christians who, professing a vague principle of universality, try to engraft western doctrinal Christianity bodily in Japan. Hence, to claim Tōju as an elder of the Christian Church is quite a superficial conclusion.

Of all virtues, Tōju put kō (filial piety) first, and his teaching, declares Dr. Inouye, deserves our assent. Kō is at the heart of ancestor worship and is most highly prized where ancestor worship prevails. If ancestor worship should cease, there would be no reason for esteeming kō. The destiny of a race is determined by the strength or weakness of kō. From the foundation of our Empire we have been one in traditions, language, customs and history, and have therefore formed one great family. We do not, like other peoples, present a record of discord and rebellion, but from olden times we have preserved one unbroken line. As this generation recognizes its ancestors, so our descendants will recognize us, and thus promote an ever growing glory. For these reasons kō bears the closest relation to our national destiny, and we must confess that Tōju was amply warranted in his high regard for it.

Chu (loyalty) broadens and fills out kō. Especially is it true in Japan that filial piety implies loyalty. For since the whole people is like one family, our attitude to the head of the nation corresponds to our attitude to the head of the house. The nation is just the family expanded. Hence it comes that chu-kō, loyalty-filiality, can be called a single doctrine. Since Tōju looked upon chu as merely one phase of kō, he laid his main emphasis upon kō.

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Tōju's doctrine of ryōchi is subjective determinism, just the reverse of utilitarianism. Consequently, he tends to neglect the examination of the data of experience. But just because of his determinism, he was stoically superior to external circumstances. His teaching was perhaps of far greater value to the people's morals than the work of modern ethical scientists who busy themselves with the arrangement and comparison of ethical theories. Tōju's discussion of ryōchi is particularly interesting because of its similarity to the Brahman theory of bonten (天梵) or the Buddhist nyorai (如來). But he fails to solve the relationship of the individual ryōchi and the universal ryōchi. As the possession of individuals it is many, but as the substance of the world, it is one. How can one be many and many be one? Tōju attempts no answer.

In spite of his generally rational temper, Tōju does not altogether escape superstitions common to the religious devotees of his age. He holds earnestly to transmigration, confounding it with casual relationship in the physical world. For instance, "Those who violate filial duties will be changed into dogs." [79] He has another passage in "Shunpu" where he dilates on how virtuous men are protected by heaven from natural calamities. Somewhere else he says that those who are truly philanthropic and do their charity in secret will be blessed with children. Like other philosophers of his day, he failed to see the independence of physical and moral laws. Again, he not only believed in the personal Jōtei, but even worshipped an image of him according to a kind of ritual.

The Yōmei school emphasised moral discipline to the extreme of branding learning as not only unnecessary, but even harmful. This attitude was advocated first by Riku Shō-zan (陸象山), who thus founded a non-philosophical heart-learning (心學 Shingaku). Ōyōmei espoused and developed the same theory. Taking the cue from those fathers, Tōju strongly opposes the prevalent literary study of the classics, and confines his attention to morality. He raves against the tyranny of books. To his mind the only truly necessary books are, The Thirteen Classics, and the Seven Books, lives of

79. Inouye op. cit. p. 158.

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famous Confucianists. "The Histories may be read," he says, "for diversion and illustration of moral laws; all the other books are worthless." Such views sadly fetter the scope of learning, and utterly misinterpret the nature of historical writing.[80] Toju's system certainly has worth as a subjective ethical philosophy, but its intolerance toward objective scientific research is baleful in the extreme.

Tōju is excessively opposed to saichi (才知), cultivated wisdom, as being harmful to moral culture. He looks upon all intellectual culture without heart culture as cunning, and denounces it as the very root of evil. His ideal is something like the impossible utopia of intuitive wisdom and virtue dreamed of by Laot'zu. Simplicity such as he advocates would only cause suicide in this intense age. In itself there is nothing bad in the nature of intellectual culture; its goodness or badness is determined solely by the use that is made of it. Tōju's standards in literary criticism are equally warped. He has no room for the beautiful but only for the good. Consequently, he looks down upon poetry as having a temporary glamour but no intrinsic value.

Finally, says Dr. Inouye, Tōju's treatment of the classics is ingenious and spirited but not always according to the strict canons of criticism. Under pretense of giving an exposition of the classics he really manages to buttress his own system of philosophy. For instance, he takes "meitoku", enlightened virtue (明德), in "Great Learning," to be the same as ryōchi. But as a matter of fact the term ryōchi was first used by Mencius

80. These strictures by Dr. Inouye seem over-harsh in view of this passage in Okina Mondō, III:

"In the age of the gods imitation of the conduct of the sages was true learning. But now there are no sages; the classics have been written, and true learning consists in understanding these, and regulating our conduct thereby. To read and understand the classics and rule our lives in accordance with their teaching is to polish the illustrious jewel of our hearts, but to cast away the books of the sages and trust to our dark misled hearts is to cast away the candle and hunt in the dark for what is lost.

"Question: What of the humble folk who cannot read?

"Answer: Of old the officials taught the people in every little hamlet, and thus even these humble folk knew the truth though they could not read for themselves. They understood the meaning and obeyed: not reading it was as if they read. It was heart-reading, since the heart conformed to the heart of the sages. Mere reading with the eye while the heart is far away is not true reading: it is to read as if we read not."

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years after "Great Learning" was written, and it was first precisely defined by Ōyōmei, over a thousand years later. It is, furthermore, very doubtful if the two terms do mean the same thing. Thus, while we grant the subjective value of Tōju's unconscious wresting of the classics to his own ends, we should eb somewhat chary of accepting him as an authority on their real meaning.

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Biographical History of Modern Moral Education, by Adachi Ritsuen.

Development of Japanese Philosophical Ideas (German), by Dr. T. Inouye.

A Japanese Philosopher (English), by Dr. G. W. Knox.

[THE END.]

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At the close of the paper, the Chairman voiced the thanks of the Society to Mr. Fisher for this, his first paper, which he hoped would be the forerunner of others equally as valuable.

Mr. J. CAREY HALL proposed the vote of thanks to the lecturer for his interesting and instructive paper. He said it was valuable for several reasons. First, for its connection with some excellent work already done by the Society in making known to us the nature of that Chinese ethical philosophy which was predominant in Japan throughout the whole period of the Tokugawa regime. Much light had been thrown on this subject by the papers of Dr. Knox, Mr. Kirby and Professor Lloyd published in the Society's Transactions; and Mr. Fisher's paper was a desiderated step in advance; for, in addition to the two ethical sects previously exemplified, it gives us for the first time an adequate insight into the remaining one of the three schools of thought which, between them, divided the allegiance of Japanese intellects in the pre-Meiji era. And the interest of such researches is not merely theoretical; it is practical as well. The present is the child of the past; and the hidden springs of the marvellous political developments of the generation now ending must be sought for in the intellectual and moral preparation made in the preceding age. The Meiji statesmen, from the *Genro* group downwards, had all been trained and moulded in the Chinese ethical schools with which these papers helped to make us acquainted. From them we learned much about China too; for Japan is China's most brilliant and distinguished pupil. The Tokugawa writers of all the three schools acknowledged Chinese thinkers as their teachers, and, whilst sometimes dissenting on minor points, gloried in their discipleship. The chief school, and sole standard of orthodoxy, was, of course, that of Chu Hsi—in Japanese, *Shu-shi*. This great thinker did for the philosophy and religion of Eastern Asia what Thomas Aquinas did for the religion and philosophy of Western Europe. Just as the latter welded into a coherent system Christian doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy, so the former elaborated a system compounded of the Confucian ethics and the metaphysics of Buddhism; and this system has for seven centuries held its ground as the canon of Chinese orthodoxy. But there have been dissenters; and the most eminent of them was Wang Yang-ming, the Ō Yō-mei so often referred to and quoted in Mr. Fisher's paper. His first disciple and propagandist in Japan, of whom so full an account has now been given to us, was a contemporary of the father of modern European philosophy. And Wang Yang-ming himself has been called the Descartes of China. In point of intellectual acuteness and ability as metaphysicians the Oriental and the Occidental thinker were probably on a par. But the difference between them is fraught with instructive significance. Descartes was not only a metaphysician; he was a scientist as well. Great as a speculative philosopher, he was equally great as a mathematician. Let us mark well, in his case, the contrast between the barrenness of metaphysics and the fertility of science. In metaphysics we only mark time; in science, we make great and permanent advances. In his speculative philosophy Descartes, like other metaphysicians before and since, put aside the labours of his predecessors and began afresh from the beginning of things: in his scientific work, he took up mathematics at the point where his predecessors, the Greek geometers, had left them, and added his own contribution to the sum of their labours. How different the result of the two halves of his work! His metaphysic was soon superseded by other ephemeral systems, but his application of algebra to geometry led in the hands of his successors, Newton and Leibnitz, to the invention of the Calculus, the indispensable implement of astronomical and physical research. From these considerations, and in view of the trend of modern thought, it seems a clear inference that the writers of the Ō Yō-mei school will have no successors in the new Japan. But that does not detract from the value of the account of the school which Professor Inouye and Mr. Fisher have given us. Such work has a scientific value of its own; for

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science has now extended its methods and its domain to the phenomena of the human mind. The law of intellectual evolution was discovered by Auguste Comte, the mightiest of modern thinkers, nearly a century ago; it challenges either recognition or refutation. It alleges that the intellect of man begins with theology and passes through the stage of metaphysics to positive science. It is an induction mainly from the history of the European mind; but all the evidence that has since been obtained regarding the intellectual evolution of China and Japan has served only to confirm it. Mr. Fisher's paper is a valuable stone added to the fast accumulating evidential pile.

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AN ESSAY BY DAZAI JUN

RELATING TO ADOPTION

AND MARRIAGE.

TRANSLATED

BY

R. J. KIRBY, Esq.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan wa in the Society's Rooms, No. 4, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, p. m., Wednesday, March 18. In the absence of H.E. Sir C MacDonald, the President of the Society, the Vice-Preside Tokyo, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner, occupied the chair. The m of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as The Chairman then called on Mr. R. J. Kirby to read his on " Dazai on Adoption and Marriage."

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Institutions (Seido 制度).

For regulating an empire or state, institutions for all things must be first established and then left for all time, they are never to be changed and are to be strictly upheld by both upper and lower classes. Laws are to be issued and rewards and punishments carried out. If up to this time there have been no institutions established, there can be no fixity of aim and no mutual understanding concerning the various affairs of life, and it will be difficult to decide upon laws and difficult to carry out rewards and punishments. In ancient times the first kings, when settling the empire, arranged ceremonies and music and fixed the ranks and duties of officials, and thus established the first institutions. And although after the dynasties of *Shin* and *Kan* the empire was divided into prefectures and districts, and things were much changed from the time of the dynasties of the first kings, there was no dynasty which did not establish some institution or other. In Japan, too, in the *Kuge* period there were institutions in all matters. The *Ritsu Rei Kaku Shiki* etc. were all books of institutions. When the *Bukei* period came in the *Kuge* institutions were not kept up, but no other institutions were established, and things were left to take their natural course. Practices originating with subordinates were adopted by the State and may be considered the institutions of those times. From the *Kamakura* period on through the *Muromachi* as far as to the times of the *Ota* and *Toyotomi* it was all after this fashion. As there has been a more peaceful government of the empire in this present dynasty than in the former ones, institutions ought to have been established; but, following the tendency left by a country at war, both the upper and lower classes take no thought of institutions, and matters are dealt with as they arise and in the way that may be most convenient. Therefore, though the daily doings of the Emperor and the ordinary duties of the *Daimyo* and court nobles and of the higher and lower *Samurai* and common people may be considered as being so

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many institutions, yet for the most part they have been established, not from above, but from below, as originating from precedents. On the whole it may be said that no institutions have been founded by this, the *Tokugawa*, dynasty, with the exception that when, in reign after reign, as the throne is ascended, the seventeen articles of the *Buke* Laws are brought out and published everywhere within the seas. This is called the Code and is carefully kept by the people. Beyond this there are no settled regulations or laws. This is a great defect in the State. There are several important matters which, in my poor judgment, should be regulated as national institutions, and these I will now proceed to consider.

The first kings in setting out to govern the empire made filial piety the foundation. The important thing in the observance of filial piety is the regulations as to mourning dress. From ancient times in our country we have had mourning clothes. They were so called, and people put them on and shut themselves up for one hundred days or a year. Some time or other mourning clothes were in large measure abolished and the word clothing only was left. Especially now are mourning clothes worn for no one higher than a grandfather, or lower than a niece, or, laterally, farther away than mother's cousins. As regards relatives more remote, such as grandfather's cousins and those nearer and those more distant, such as the children of nephews and second cousins, for these no mourning dress is worn. Therefore the people of to-day look upon distant relatives like second cousins as strangers. For lightly regarding love and relationship there has never been a time like the present. I should myself like to see rules for mourning clothes established, even were they not the old-time rules of China or of this country. At present vulgar people adopt such rules as they think best and teach filial piety to the people within the seas (i.e., throughout Japan). If the ties of relationship can be lengthened, it will be great and good fortune. For the rest, see my former essay on Ceremonial and Music.

Man thinks much of family connections (Shizoku 氏族). *Shizoku* is what is now called the surname (Myoji 苗字). Family names are what divide family groups from one another.

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They are handed down by our ancestors. Children and grandchildren guard them through everlasting ages and must under no circumstances change or alter them. Some give their own surnames to others. Some cast away their own surnames and assume the surnames of others. These are all casting away their ancestors and are very unfilial. In China originally this never occurred; but during the *Kan* dynasty in the time of the First Emperor the family name (姓) of *Rui* was given to *Ro Kei*, and he was called *Rui Kei*. The emperors and kings of later ages gave a good many names of the State to their relatives, just as *Taiso* of *To* gave to *Tosei Seki* the family name (氏) of *Rishi*, after the *Kan* precedent of *Rui Kei*.

The name of the State (國姓) is the Emperor's name (天子ノ姓). In Japan from the *Kuge* period down to the *Buke* the name of the State was never given. When it came to the *Toyotomi* period, the Emperor gave the name of *Hashiba* to his generals. This was the first instance of giving the name of the State to retainers. In the present dynasty, after the above precedent, *Daimyo* and retainers of merit have often been given the family name of *Matsudaira*. The *Daimyo* of *Kaga* was *Mayeda*, that of *Satsuma* was *Shimadzu*, of *Sendai Date*, of *Chikuzen Kuroda*, of *Aki Asano*, of *Saga Nabeshima*, and of *Nagato Mori*. Those of *Bizen* and *Inaba* were called *Ikeda*, while that of *Awa* was *Hachisuka*, and of *Tosa Yamanouchi*. But these were all given the name of *Matsudaira*.

The above mentioned were not originally retainers of the house of *Tokugawa* (Fudai), but were famous families of the preceding régime that had surrendered to the *Tokugawa* founder, and out of regard for them he gave them his own family name, and thus they were given the State name.

The *Daimyo Minamimatsuyama* was of the *Hisamatsu* name, and, being a brother, by the same mother but by a different father, of the *Shogun Toshogu*, he was with great love advanced to the position of full brother (親弟) and given the family name (氏) of *Matsudaira*. The *Matsumoto Daimyo* of recent times have from generation to generation been called lords of *Tamba;* the true family name (姓) is *Toda*, and why,

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therefore, they were all given the family name of *Matsudaira* cannot be understood.

In the reign of *Kembyo, Yanagizawa Yasuakira* being a concubine's child was given the State name. *Honjo Munesuke* through being a relation of *Kembyo's* wife was also given the State name, which was a mistaken honour. The way the State name has been given to a great number of persons under the present regime has never before been heard of either in this country or in China. Then the *Daimyo*, following this custom, give their surnames to their retainers. In the schools of artists a great many disciples have been given the surname of a founder. This is the beginning of trouble with family names and with families. Hence people of the same flesh and bones are looked upon as strangers and the evil custom came in of thinking people of other flesh and bones as being of one's own flesh and bones. Thus the people of to-day discard their family surnames more easily than they discard worn-out sandals. This is a barbarous custom which did not exist in ancient times, but it has thus come about that there is no difference made as to whether one has the right or wrong family name, and also none as between relatives and strangers. Then again, without any reason at all, some assume the mother's name, or children of forty-one years of age are not kept by their families, but are made the children of other people, and are allowed to assume the family names of others. Such like evil customs must be changed, and, beginning with the Daimyo and including, of course, Court retainers and the people generally, I would like to see true family relations established. This would be one way of stopping a serious abuse within the empire.

To take children of other families and adopt them, in order to carry on the family line, is a custom of barbarians, and is never practised in the country of the sages. Towards the end of the *Shu* (周) period, the country of *Tei* had no heir. The lord of the country of *Rio* being the son-in-law of the lord of *Tei*, and the child of the lord of *Rio* being thus an outside grandchild, he was made the heir of *Tei*. But in his work "*Autumn and Spring*" Confucius says, "*Tei* was destroyed by the people of *Rio*." The meaning of outside grandson is that the

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child was born of a female who married into another family. In taking this child to carry on the family the blood and pulse of the country of *Tei* was stopped. The lord of *Rio* in sending a child to the country of his wife's father was guilty of the overthrow of the country of *Tei*. Confucius in writing that *Rio* overthrew Tei meant that both the lord of the country of *Rio* and his courtiers were guilty of this crime. By this one event the warning intended by the sages can be appreciated. Always when the children of some other than the real family are taken to carry on the State, the ancestral blood and flesh are stopped. If I take my child and make him the child of another to carry on the State of another, that means the overthrow of the State (滅家) of that other. What occurred in the country of *Tei* was exceptional, and nothing similar was seen later. The Empress Dowager of *Rio*, grieving that the Emperor *Kei* had no child, secretly took the child of another and falsely made him the child of the Emperor *Kei*, but this was not the act of adoption. About the end of the *Kan* dynasty the custom of adopting a child as one's own gradually arose. This was truly the advent of a barbarous custom, and though the custom gradually increased it was found mostly amongst ordinary people and but seldom amongst the gentry and those above them. In the Ming dynasty it was prohibited and was made a crime by law, because the warnings of the sages were honoured and relationship was made important. In Japan also in ancient times this custom did not exist; it began gradually in the middle ages, and even until quite lately it was rare; but in this present reign it has become very prevalent. There is nothing worse than destroying the descent of man and harming the government of the country. Generally, relations that have the State's name are not direct connections. No matter how distant real connections may be, all are descendants of the first ancestor and in them remain his bones and flesh. Should one of the family who has no child himself take such a descendant to carry on his house, he and his ancestors will receive the worship of the one so taken. In the "Saden" it is written, "The Gods do not receive people of another family. People do not worship those who are of

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another family." No matter how truly and reverentially beautiful the food that is offered may be, the worship of one of different blood and pulse is not received by the soul and spirit.

If worship is not received, then that soul and spirit, not being fed, will starve. Mencius' meaning when he speaks of the first of the three unfilial states is, not having descendants. But if there is no child of mine to carry on my house, then to choose one of my relations of the same name and adopt him and make him my child will be the right way for carrying on the descent of my ancestors. This is the child of adoption. If there is not a single relative of the same name and so no one to carry on the family line, then this is an overthrow of the house by Heaven. If it comes to overthrowal by Heaven who can find fault? Then accept the order of Heaven in peace, and decidedly do not adopt the child of a stranger. If the Government does not strictly prohibit such a custom as this, the evil will never cease. Now there is no law to prohibit this custom. A person having a number of children establishes his eldest child as his heir and gives over the next and following children to others to take their family names from them. A person with no son of his own passes by his relations of the same family name, or, some one looking for power or being lustful of money takes the child of another family name to carry on his family. Should a person with even a number of children, who has given all but the eldest to other persons, unfortunately lose his eldest child by death, then he would have to adopt some stranger to carry on his house. With the *Daimyo* and those below them this is not at all uncommon. This is the extreme of folly and wholly unfilial. Especially does this happen now when the Military Houses are troubled by poverty, as they adopt strangers and are sure to seek for money. And then, too, low born rich people take advantage of this state of affairs and have their children adopted by the gentry and courtiers.

By paying out several hundreds of money they attain to the families of the gentry and courtiers who are in receipt of incomes. One does not know how many thousands of base-

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born persons of no lineage have by this means acquired the incomes of houses which from the beginning of the State have inherited the same for deeds of war and patriotism. There is no time to write about the lust for profit of the base-born. The gentry and courtiers are guilty of this evil. Why do they lie to the Government? It is because the adoption of strangers into the family name is not prohibited. Is this not sad?

Relationship begins with husband and wife. The married state comes into existence through the marriage ceremony. The ancient sages valued the commencement of marriage and defined the marriage ceremony, plainly distinguishing between man and woman, and so they gave us pure relationship. The meaning of this is shown clearly in the six classics. The true intention of this ceremony, though it greatly differs between modern and ancient times and between this country and China, is to choose a mate Hai (配). The meaning of Hai is married pair (Haigu 配偶 and Haihitsu 配匹), the Japanese meaning of which is "to put alongside" (Narabu). As husband and wife ought to be ranged together and put opposite each other, they are called Hai (配). If the mating of man and wife is not properly managed, then the home cannot be controlled. If the home is not controlled, then the relatives are not mutually at peace, and even retainers and servants think lightly of their superiors, and the result of this is misfortune and rebellion. "To choose a mate" means that I obtain by choice a mate suitable for me. The considerations for choosing a suitable mate are as follows:

First, virtuousness. Virtue means the natural inclination. Amongst men there are all kinds of different temperaments. The usual behaviour, too, differs according to the person's nature. As a man and wife are to be friends for life, those whose natures are suitably and equally matched should be mated. To be equally matched means to mutually obey. If the natures are not equally matched, then there is no peace within the wife's apartments, and there will be fierce glances between husband and wife.

Secondly, there is age. There is a proper age for both husband and wife. Although, of course, the husband ought to be older and the wife younger, yet for the husband to be very much

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older and the wife very much younger is not good. This causes domestic disturbances. In the *Shuyeki* the expression "The old husband obtains a concubine in his wife" refers to this infelicity. Again, for a wife to be older than her husband reverses the proper order. It appears wrong to outsiders and is the beginning of trouble in the women's apartments. In the *Shuyeki* the expression "The old wife has obtained a strong husband" refers to this sort of thing. This second consideration is met by securing proper equality in years.

Thirdly, the families of both husband and wife are to be taken into account. The family, income and rank ought all to be chosen from equals. By family is meant the pedigree of the house as to whether it is of high or low degree. This is what is called either *Montei* (門弟) or *Monchi* (門地) family. Gentlemen (士) and courtiers (大夫) have pedigrees, salaries and rank. The rank, salary and family of husband and wife ought to be equal. The *Daimyo* having provinces descend to them from generation to generation, their descent is clearly known. Then again there are large and small provinces and high and low titles and rank. When the lord of a large province marries, he ought to seek a wife from a large province, and the small ought to look to the small. Persons of high titles should look for high titles; those of low titles should look for low titles. With regard to the gentry and courtiers, as there are all kinds of pedigrees amongst them, careful selection is most important. After this the difference is in great or small salaries and in high or low rank; thus suitable persons ought to be chosen. In short, gentry ought to be tied in marriage with gentry and courtiers with courtiers. But as courtiers are men advanced from among the gentry, so though a man may be to-day of the gentry, there is nothing to prevent his being a courtier at some later day. Hence there is no harm in the courtiers and gentry inter-marrying. But when the *Daimyo* and those below them forget and marry unsuitable persons, then there will be all kinds of harm done. If the husband's family is superior and the wife's inferior, it is easy for the husband to come to despise his wife. When the wife's family is superior and the husband's inferior, it is easy for

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the wife to regard her husband lightly. Each of these reasons is a means of discord in the women's apartments. This is especially the case when the wife's family is rich and noble and the husband's poor and lowly, and then it is likely to happen that the husband bends to flatter the wife's family, or although husband to feel afraid of the wife. This is losing the right of manhood and is a pitiful state. In ancient times *So*, son of Duke *Tei*, who was lord of the country of *Tei*, did some work of merit for the lord of the country of *Sei*. The lord of *Sei* was pleased and said he would give his daughter to *So*. The duke's son *So* declined and said, "*Tei* is a small country and *Sei* is a large country, I am not a fit mate." Accordingly he did not obey the command. This I saw in the *Saden*. For this deed the duke's son *So* even in those times was applauded as clever.

The above three considerations are of the utmost importance in marriage. To be lustful and greedy for wealth is the way of the small man and not the way of gentry and courtiers. Those who keep prostitutes and employ concubines are right in choosing them from a lust standpoint, but he who takes a wife should not choose thus. The one who is greedy for wealth and chooses a wife from among the daughters of an unsuitable rich house is not following in the line of true manhood. Bunchushi's remark, "When marrying to argue over riches is the way of the barbarian," is a well-known saying. To argue over riches is to dispute as to whether the riches are much or little. Barbarians are Yeibus (barbarians). The way of barbarians is one that does not conform to the way of the Lords of the Middle Kingdom. It is not necessary to say it of marriage among ordinary people, but as the choice of mates by the gentry, courtiers and those above them is most important, the Government ought to make strict regulations to cause them to choose mates with the utmost care. Especially if, when the gentry, courtiers and those above them are about to marry or give in marriage, the law requires them to notify the Government and get its permission, the Government can then investigate whether the parties are suitable or not. If amongst these there are

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some who fabricate lies and deceive the Government, they must be severely punished. This is a way for purifying relationships. But as there are now no such regulations, if there are lewd persons amongst the gentry and courtiers, there will be some who will marry outcasts and prostitutes, or some greedy ones who will marry the daughters of farmers, artisans, merchants, shopkeepers or such like low-class people in order to get a large amount of money. Especially is this so amongst the gentry and courtiers of to-day who are very poor and hard pushed. When taking wives they obtain large sums, even thousands, of ryo and are thus relieved of their immediate necessities. When this money is spent they treat their wives cruelly. When the wives can bear this cruelty no longer and apply to be sent away, they are glad, for, though returning the wife, they do not return the money; and then again they proceed to marry some other daughter of a rich house and repeat what they have already done several times. There is nothing worse than this inhumanity, wrong, rudeness and unlawfulness. Amongst the *Daimyo* sometimes the lord of a small province will become the husband of a wife from a big province and because of this favour he will flatter and cringe. Then, again, amongst the lords of the small provinces there are many persons hard pushed for money who, while marrying a wife, are sure to ask for money. There is nothing worse than this for destroying uprightness. This is the general result of having no regulations relative to the choice of a mate. In China in the *Nansai* Dynasty there was a man called *Ogen* of *Tokai*, whose house through several generations had reached high rank, and he passed as a *Daimyo* and was ranked as one. There was another, *Man Shoshi*, who was a wealthy person of *Fuyo* but whose family was not of much account. *Shoshi* had a son called *Ran*. *Ogen* had a daughter. *Shoshi* wished to get her for his son and appointed one named *Rinshishi* as go-between, asking for marriage with 50,000 *sen* as a dowry. *Ogen* was well pleased with the proposal and the marriage with the *Man* house was arranged. There used to be an office called *Gyoshi Chujo*, the duty of the official occupying it being to correct the wrong doings of the retainers. There was an official named Chinyaku who

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was Chujo at that time and he wrote a document called *Danji*, impeachment, memorializing about this matter of *Ogen*, saying that he should be deprived of his office and rank and be imprisoned. This document is found in the *Monsen*. This is what happens in China. Not only are the gentry and courtiers not allowed to choose mates indiscriminately, but the people too are not allowed to choose. Those who take prostitutes and outcasts as wives are judged guilty of crime, and there are punishments inflicted according to law. Prostitutes and outcasts are called *Zakko* (雑子) and are considered different from ordinary people. They are now regarded as "not human" or as persons "different from men." If in China the choice of a wife by one of the common people is of this nature, how much more strict is it for the gentry and courtiers. In Japan our not having these regulations is a great oversight. By the law of the present times the *Daimyo* and those below them, and the gentry and courtiers and those above them, who between the ages of seventeen and forty-nine have no sons, are, in case of death, allowed to take each the child of another and by adoption provide for an heir. After they are fifty they can apply to be allowed to adopt a child to provide for the inheritance; otherwise when about to die they are not allowed to so apply. Before the age of seventeen is reached permission is not granted to appoint an heir by adoption. For this reason all persons dying younger than sixteen have no heirs. With the *Daimyo* this means loss of province, and with the gentry and courtiers the end of the family. Some of these, because of the honorable deeds of their ancestors, or some because they have relations connected with the State, or for some special reason, have each an heir appointed by special favour from among distant relatives, and these are granted from one-tenth to one-fifth of the original incomes to carry on the worship of their ancestors. This favour is determined by the circumstances of the case. This has been an important law of the State since the time of the God-Ancestors and has never been changed. My private thought is, however, Did the God-Ancestors in their holy wisdom establish such a law? It is very difficult to understand

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the thoughts of the Gods. At present this damages the government of the State. To speak briefly, during the time of their remote ancestors, they had done service for the State, some of them throwing away their lives in their zeal of patriotism, and as recompense for this, according to the greatness or smallness of the service, they were given land and rice-fields and titles of control for their children and grandchildren perpetually. This is the way to encourage the fidelity of retainers. Therefore, so long as such a meritorious retainer had children and grandchildren his province or family would not disappear and worship could be continued. How is it then that when the head of the house is not fully seventeen an heir cannot be appointed from within the family and the house must be overthrown? No matter how many dynasties or generations have passed, and no matter how distant the connections may be, if they are of the same family in each case, they are after all from the same ancestors; and if such ones are appointed and they offer up worship, the ancestors are sure to receive it. But if the family is destroyed because of some one's not reaching the full age of seventeen, this will be what the ancients called Little Favour. In later times, from the opening of the country, the number of meritorious retainers who have had their families overthrown, such as the Honda family, are very numerous. What I secretly pray for is that the law which has existed until the present shall be changed, and that of the descendants of meritorious retainers, no matter how many generations removed, so long as they are descendants of the same blood and pulse, some one shall be taken from this same kindred and the house carried on. And if the law which does not allow adoption below sixteen be abolished, this will be good government. As I have already said, the adoption of persons of other families must be severely prohibited. If there is not one of the extreme branches of the kindred of a meritorious retainer left, and if it is quite certain that there are none of the same more immediate family to carry on the house, then the province or the house must be removed and the family worship must cease. This sort of overthrow is a stoppage by Heaven. Generally if the house of a man has no descendants and so is overthrown, it

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is done by Heaven. It is not an overthrowal by order of a prince. Who can find fault with an overthrowal by Heaven? There is no one who will think that the house has been overthrown and caused to disappear by the Government. To put a stop to the adoption of people of a different family name, and allow only persons of the same family name to be chosen, no matter how distantly related, so that from among the relations the house can be carried on, would have for effect that people would naturally love their relations of the same family name. As now no successor can be appointed by adoption by one who is under sixteen, it is usual for the heirs of the *Daimyo* and those below them to lie about the year of their birth, and a child born this year is said to be four or five years old. This occurs in nine cases out of ten. This is a case of the lower lying to the upper. This ought not to happen with the gentry and courtiers. This has arisen because the evils of adopting those of a different family name are not prohibited, and because adoption by those under sixteen is not allowed. After even a thousand autumns and ten thousand years, if the Kenkan had no heirs, would any one but a man of the Tokugawa name be appointed? In case the lords of the three provinces of Owari, Kishiu and Mito had no sons, would persons of other surnames be taken and made heirs? This is surely never likely to occur. Therefore it is not right that people below these, such as the lords and masters of small provinces and houses, should take persons from strange families and make them their children. Should it be intended to prohibit the adoption of those of other family names, then those who have already been adopted should return to their original families. If this is not done, it will be difficult to purify the names and families. After adopted children have been returned to their original families, then the adopting father must choose children from among his own relations to carry on his house. This is the way to purify the names and families, to strengthen relationships and to show love of country. This method ought to be carried on in all the provinces of the *Daimyo*. I hear that as the applications to adopt below the age of sixteen are not permitted, the

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lower classes are guilty of all kinds of evil and deceive those above them.

The way to govern the country is to make it of the utmost importance to bind the gentry and people into bands of five soldiers (卒伍). The law relative to bands of five soldiers has been treated of in detail in my former essay on Military Preparation. In times of peace these are called Neighbouring Bands of Five (鄰伍) and in the Military Camp they are called Soldier Bands of Five (卒伍). It would be difficult to govern the people without the law of the Bands of Five. At present the law of the Bands of Five exists for the people only, and no such law exists for the gentry. In the Military Law of this Dynasty there is the law of the Bands of Five for the soldiers (卒). The Sotsu (卒) are similar to the present Doshin, 臣心 (lowest officials under the Tokugawa Government) and Ashigaru, 足輕 (lowest feudal retainers). For the mounted gentry and those above them there is no law of the Bands of Five. Even as regards a single regiment, the men are mostly scattered and are not collected in one place. Those who live in houses but are not of Neighbouring Fives do not call and see each other and do not know what happens in each other's houses. And if those in charge, such as captains of the guards and heads of companies, live at a distance, they are especially not likely to know. It is because of this that in the present Banshu (番衆) and Kofushinshu (小普請衆) there are so many worthless (無賴) people and people of bad character. For instance, even if they are of the same regiment and live in neighbouring houses, as there is no law of the Bands of Five in ordinary times, they do not associate intimately. If they see or hear of evil deeds, they usually let them pass as if they did not know about them. This is the cause of the gentry not doing their duty. But if it is desired to purify the future conduct of the gentry, then Military Preparations must be strictly carried out, and the mounted gentry and those above them must be formed into Bands of Five the same as the present Ashigaru, and they should be caused to live together. This law ought to be strictly enforced. After the Bands of Five are established, then ordinarily those of a single Band of Five will be mutually friendly

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with the neighbouring houses. There will be no difference of outside and inside and they will talk freely with one another, and when there is sickness and death or other sudden misfortune, they will mutually help one another the same as if they were relatives. Again, should there be any evil done, the neighbouring houses will mutually teach and admonish. If these admonitions are not followed, then the head of the Band must be notified and he must admonish. This head of the Band is the Chief of the Band of Five. He is the head of the huts of the Ashigaru. If these several admonitions of the Band are not listened to, then the Superintendent of the Guards must be notified. By this method the manners of the gentry will naturally become purified and there will be very few worthless fellows.

Taking women of pleasure and such like as wives is not limited to the people. Amongst the gentry and courtiers there are many in receipt of salaries who do this. Then again, in the cities the residences of outcasts and those of good citizens are mixed up together without distinction. This is the very reverse of doing honour to the people.

Again, during the reigns of Kembyo and Bumbyo, as they, the rulers, were fond of the Sarugaku (a kind of comic dance), the performers of the Sarugaku were advanced to the rank of gentry, and they mingled with gentry and courtiers whose families were several generations old. The worst of all was when they were advanced to the fifth rank, or, as in some cases, they actually became *Daimyo* or keepers of castles. This is the worst cause of all of the mixing up of different kinds of people. That is to say, this is the beginning of the decline of the samurai spirit. During the Kyoho period (1716-1735) beggars of all description had to cut off their hair, and by this means were differentiated from ordinary people and were forbidden to mix with them. This was a most fortunate act of Government. What I should like well to see, in addition to this, is that all outcasts should be segregated, their appearance be made distinctive, and severe laws be adopted to prevent them from associating with good citizens, and, further, that this separation should be maintained for all time. In this Dynasty there are those

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who grant Field Stipends to the performers of the Sarugaku. From the time of the Muromachi the Classical Music of the Kuge has not been used. As the Sarugaku is practised at the Palace, naturally the Sarugaku performers come to be thought of highly, and it has become the fashion to grant them salaries. As they become part of the ceremonial of the Palace, it is right that they should have grants of rice, but not right that they should be given Field Stipends. The fact is that farmers are the uppermost class of the people and are the foundation of Society. To give Field Stipends, therefore, to the Sarugaku is to give them the people. The Sarugaku performers are outcasts and cannot be regarded as good citizens. They are low persons. To give them Field Stipends is to give them the government of the people, and that is a topsy-turvey state of things and the reverse of right. If possible, Field Stipends to Sarugaku performers should be stopped. It is right only to give them grants of rice.

Generally speaking, the men of the country are the subjects of the king. The fields and houses were originally the ground of the king. In the Moshi it is written, "Under the universal heavens there is no ground which is not the king's." This meaning is there expressed. Usually the farmer, having received his rice-fields from his lord, cultivates them and pays taxes to the government.

For rice-fields there are rice-field taxes, and for residence land there are building land taxes. The taxes on building land are lighter than on rice-fields. The artizans and merchants have only building land whereon to reside; therefore they pay building ground taxes to the government. This is the law of the former kings. The corvée labour does not vary as regards artizans, merchants and shopkeepers. In Japan ground taxes were collected from the citizens of Kyoto from ancient times. Akechi Mitsuhide killed the Shogun Nobunaga, and in order to gain the allegiance of the citizens of Kyoto, he relieved them from the payment of ground taxes. This was but a temporary scheme of Mitsuhide's and was not a permanent law of the State. After this Toyotomi killed Mitsuhide and himself governed the whole of Japan; but not

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knowing much about State business, he was guided by the retainers of Mitsuhide's government and did not return the ground tax law to its former condition. Later on, though Toshogu governed Japan, he determined, as a temporary measure, not to collect the ground tax in the cities, and this continues up to the present. Not only in Kyoto (平安城), but even in Yedo, Osaka, Nara, Sakai etc., there is only the corvée and no ground tax law is enforced. It is not right that one should live on the lord's ground and not pay a ground tax. This differs greatly from the laws of the former kings. When the government granted household ground to the gentry and courtiers and those above them living on the ground of the king, there was no ground tax levied upon them. But from others, whether much or little, a ground tax was always demanded. This was an established law from ancient times.

As the men of the Empire are, generally, as stated above, the subjects of a king, the way of the people is to pay out taxes and to be used in the corvée. But since Buddhism has come to prevail in the land, there are many amongst the people who leave their families and become priests. After they leave their houses, they become separated from the census enumeration and are outside the pale of the four classes of the people. They become people of leisure who do not pay taxes and are not subject to the corvée. For this reason in China people are not allowed of their own free will thus to separate themselves from the census enumeration and become priests. People who wish to become priests there apply for permission to do so and are given Buddhist priest diplomas and are then allowed to leave their houses. Without diplomas they cannot leave their families and shave their heads. Should they break this law and privately shave their heads, both teachers and disciples are punished by law. This law has existed from ancient times and has never been changed. In Japan in the Kuge period Buddhist priest diplomas were issued by the Gembaryo (玄番寮 Bureau of Foreign Affairs). The diploma was a written document giving permission to leave one's house (or family). Even in the Buke (military) times, down to the Kamakura period, the house could be left only on receiving a diploma from the Gembaryo.

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I saw some time ago in an old temple in Oshi a diploma that had been given by the Gembaryo to a disciple of the Kenchoji of Kamakura.

Some time in the not remote past this law was abolished, and the gentry and common people were left free to separate themselves from their houses. This is the reason why there are so many priests now and that so many among them are worthless and bad. But I should like to see the old regulations revived and those leaving their houses in future given diplomas as a preliminary to their doing so. If they leave their houses, they become separated from the four classes of the people and so escape the payment of taxes and also the corvée. Therefore, when applying for diplomas, men ought to pay money for the permission involved (身ぬけ金). This is not harsh government and the principle ought to be adopted and enforced. Again, the Yamabushi (山臥) (travelling priests) of the country are similar to the conjurers (道士) of China; and as in China the conjurers are given diplomas, much more ought our Yamabushi also to be given them.

In China none but priests shave off their hair. In this country, however, there are many who shave their hair without being priests; with the result that priests and ordinary gentry and common people are often not distinguishable from one another. There are many bad fellows who are priests and falsely impersonate ordinary people and are guilty of illegal and evil actions. If it could be forbidden to shave the head to all but priests it would be to the advantage of the government of the people. In ancient times, the Koreans, in mentioning Hayashi Razan, called him a priest (釋道春), and it is said that Razan was vexed. It was right for Razan to be vexed; but, as in China none but priests shave the head, it was natural that our people should think that persons arriving in the country with shaved heads were all priests. Such things are to the shame of the State.

In appointing the various kinds of officials, it has been the rule from ancient times to keep civil and military offices separate. As I have already said in my former essay on "Officials", unless the civil and military offices are kept

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separate, it is difficult to formulate a satisfactory method of government. At present, as the civil and military offices are not separated, there are many points of difficulty in the conduct of government. Even if all officials cannot be so appointed, the civil and military officials at least ought to be separated the one from the other, and these rules ought to be made to apply also to the feudal provinces.

Generally, rank separates high class people from low Therefore, in ancient times there were the nine classes of rank from the first to the ninth grade (命); but later on the nine Hin (品, qualities) of rank were established and these were divided into Sho (正) and Jiu (從), making in all eighteen classes.

In Japan from the first rank (位) to the third, these are divided into Sho and Jiu. In the Sho and Jiu from the fourth rank to the eighth, there are again high and low. The ninth rank is what is called the first rank. In this there are great, small, high, and low sub-classes. Thus there are in all about thirty steps (階). The above ranks and steps are divided very minutely and the quality of the people is arranged in definite order. At present even when Kuge give rank and steps, they advance at once from no rank to the sixth, and from the sixth to Jiu number 5 low. From the people and gentry to Jiu number 4 low, there are only three classes. This is a very crude method of advancement. To divide the quality (品) of the people into high and low in this way is very difficult. Therefore, the different offices (役) are divided into the honourable and the humble respectively, and the people are divided into high class people and low. To divide offices in this way means to do injury to good government, because it is difficult on any such principle to appoint men to office according to their merits. Then again, in the matter of rank (爵位), where there are Sho and Jiu, this generally means that the Sho is the true (眞) rank of that class, and Jiu means to follow after, that is, to come next, just as one might say that he comes after so-and-so.

Sho number 5 rank is the true number 5 rank. Jiu number 5 rank means to follow after number 5 rank, i.e., to follow after a person of the true number 5 rank and come next to him in line. In the present Buke (Military Houses) there is no such

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thing as Sho number 5 rank. Generally, people of the number 5 rank are all Jiu number 5 rank low. People of number 5 rank and above are courtiers, and, generally, when speaking of persons of number 4 and number 5 ranks, the different courtiers are referred to. In the present Military Houses, when men of small stipends or unimportant offices are given rank and become courtiers, they are given Jiu number 5 rank low, and Bangashira (番頭) and those above them in important offices are given Jiu number 5 rank low. Daimyo of ten thousand koku and over, up to even the heads of castles of one hundred thousand koku, are Jiu number 5 rank low. The number 5 rank has four classes, and the Jiu low is the very lowest in it, in which the honorable and the humble are not differentiated the one from the other. To be given this one step and there remain is very generous. In the case of Daimyo of ten thousand koku and over, there are some of Sho number 5 rank and some of number 4 also. In the case of the Daimyo of large provinces and also of smaller stipend officials under the flag, if they rise to number 4 rank, they are all Jiu number 4 rank low. As rank generally separates high class people from low, this is the reason of all these divisions. If there is any confusion in this matter, when people are ranged in line, there will surely be trouble.

The following is written in the Saden, "In ancient times there were no hereditary Kyo (卿). Kyo and courtiers are those who govern a country. When the descendants of such inherit their rank they are called hereditary Kyo. This is said not to be an old law. There are both Buke and Kuge hereditary officers. No question is raised about their cleverness or foolishness; the descendants succeed, generation after generation, to the offices of their ancestors. This does great injury to government. It is very seldom that a man's descendants continue clever from generation to generation. Officials are the instruments for the government of the State, and trust should be placed in those only who are chosen for ability and cleverness. But to give official position to people without capacity simply because their ancestors were officials is not right. If the descendants of a person are clever and are his equals in ability,

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then it is right that they should succeed him in office; but if this is not so, then other people should be chosen.

The hereditary stipends of the persons employed in the government of Buno were the means by which Buno established his kingdom. The Japanese Government of this age, too, extends its influence by means of hereditary stipends. This is the way by which Iyeyasu established the country's prosperity within the seas for all ages. For it is right for those who have served the State, either in civil or military spheres, and have performed very meritorious services, to have their descendants enabled by means of hereditary stipends to offer them worship. It is by the beneficence of the government that the lords of men can repay their retainers for their meritorious deeds. Even if there is no great work to be undertaken, the way to encourage fidelity is to nourish by hereditary stipends the descendants of those who have died for their lords. But this is no precedent for the treatment of civilians or military men who are employed merely for their skill in the arts. Those who excel in the arts and who are bidden to come forth should be given salaries; and should their children have sufficient skill to succeed to their positions, they may be given the same salaries. But if they cannot carry on the work of their fathers, after the fathers die the salaries ought to be stopped by the government and the children returned to the ranks of the people. Generally, there is only one child in a thousand who can succeed to his father in learning, workmanship and the arts. For a son, then, to get the same stipend as the dead, quite irrespective of his personal worth, this is not the way to obtain men with ability. If this were done, the persons in receipt of hereditary stipends would gradually increase, so that it would be difficult to continue rice-field stipends and grants of rice, and there would be no inducement for any such person to perfect himself in the work of his father and ancestors. Satiated with food and heated by clothing, he would idle through life. This is called Eating the Stipend without having merited it (尸位素餐), or being a parasite, as it is put in the people's vernacular. As the children of the artisan gentry have all hereditary stipends, their positions are mostly sinecures, and even should there later appear

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excellent artists amongst the lower classes, as the stipend rice has all been apportioned, it would be difficult for the government to bid these artists to come forth. The above remarks apply at present to doctors, who are specially numerous. From the beginning of the State, doctors especially have been called forth, and now their descendants are said to number over three or four hundred men. This is a very large number. But if one wishes to find a really skilled doctor, only one or two in a hundred can be found. The others are all useless ordinary people, and those who know nothing of doctoring can be measured by the bushel. During the reign of Kembyo, in the Genroku era, there was a sorting out of doctors and a great many pleasure-loving, lazy descendants of hereditary doctors were deprived of their status and pensions, which was an act of good government. To-day, too, those of the hereditary doctors who are of no use should be sorted out, and from now on those who are not competent to succeed to the work of their fathers should have their salaries withdrawn and be caused to return to the ranks of the people. Before they become scholars men ought not to be given audience. If now the law of hereditary salaries is revised and those qualified in the arts are newly called out, people will apply themselves honestly to scholarship and the arts, and by these means the number of skilled people in the country will be increased. This applies not only to the doctors, but to Confucian scholars and to all connected with the arts and with manufactures. It may appear unkind to stop the hereditary salaries, but it is not unkind. As it is designed to bring out the ability in man, it is quite the reverse. It is humane government.

What are called servants (奴婢) in China are here called Fudaimono, 譜第者 i.e., kept from generation to generation in the family. Laborers (傭工) are employes, some engaged for the day, some for ten or twenty days and some for a month or for two months. These are called day or month employes. In China there is no class similar to that of the house servants of these times, who are what might be called changers (出替). The laboring class is something like this, but is not the same. The present changers (出替) are men who may be said to be employed by the year. That is, they change

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their masters each year, and therefore their employers do not show them much kindness, and the employes show very little fidelity towards the masters. Especially is this so in Yeddo, where a great many runaways and worthless fellows congregate and become changers and thus pass through life, and where there are a great many who run away. Those who act as the sureties of these are worthless citizens and no trust can be placed in them. The number of employers using these changers, and who yearly lose money and valuable property in consequence, cannot be estimated. Though the gentry and courtiers with field stipends can call up and employ men from their estates, the people living in the city without rice stipends can find only these changers to employ. This was not so in Japan in the olden time, it first came to pass in this present reign. This is a great misfortune for the gentry and the people of these times. In a word, as the citizens cannot employ the Fudaimono, they are obliged to have resort to the changers. In times of peace they can manage by this means to live through a year, perhaps; but should anything happen to the State and these changers enter the punitive army, then of what use would they be? For instance, should they be put in the ranks and be let out of the gates, they would be sure to run away. Therefore these changers are a great injury to the government of the State. If possible, let this state of affairs be changed, and, as in ancient times, let the servants be employed for a long time. If it is realized that they are to be employed for long periods, then the masters will forgive small mistakes and treat them kindly. And then if the servants know that if they leave this family there will be no other to go to, it will be natural for them to overlook small cases of dissatisfaction without feeling spiteful, and to work faithfully in their masters' houses. Men are not all friends, nor are they all enemies. If people become masters and retainers, or become friends or associates, and so pass through years and months, then through their mutual love, charitable loving hearts and hearts of fidelity will be developed. This is the humane way. It is what is generally called the humanity of the sages, and can only spring from intimacy. The changer has neither humane nor dutiful

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feelings. For destroying the humane way there can be no evil to exceed this. When people hire a person's house, they generally have a surety and a book for receipts. At present, in Kyoto and Osaka, when putting forward a surety, it is not a question of his being of greater or less importance, but of whether or not he is the owner of a house. It is the law that if a person does not own even a small house he cannot stand as a surety. For this reason it is not easy for a runaway or worthless person to rent a house. This law is said to be that of the Shoshi (the Shogun's representative at Kyoto), Lord Itagura Shigemune, but this law does not obtain in Yeddo. Though a person has not even a small house, he nevertheless can stand as a surety, and accordingly runaways and worthless people easily rent houses and live in them. When they do anything wrong and it is discovered, if the tenant runs away, so does the surety, and if the surety's surety is inquired after, he also runs away; so that in most cases, as there is no responsible person to lay hands on, the matter is finally allowed to drop. This is because the person who does not own a house is of no consequence and it is very easy for him to join disorderly bands and run away. The Kyoto law is a good one. As for the Yeddo law, although it is convenient for the people, it is to the ultimate benefit of runaways and other worthless characters, and of course leads to the increase of crime.

In the government of this Dynasty different kinds of officials have been established and the control of the gentry and people within the four seas is most severe. In Yeddo there are Commissioners of Shrines and Temples, Commissioners of Finance and City Governors. By these three kinds of Commissioners and Governors (Bugyo 奉行) the people of the city are governed. Priests, nuns, priestesses, Shinto priests, etc. all are attached to the Commissioner of Shrines and Temples; artizans, business men and city people generally are attached to the Commissioner of Finance: so that there would appear to be no citizens who are not under the jurisdiction of one or other of the three Bugyo. And yet at present in the city there are two kinds of people who have no office to control them. One of these is that of the outlaws (Ronin 浪人), and

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the other, that of the Doshinsha (道心者, begging priests). The outlaws are what are called in China Shoshi (浪士).

In ancient times Doshinsha was the name for priests who, because they were priests, had understanding hearts. At present uneducated priests are called Doshinsha. Jurisdiction means to be above, have power over, or govern, all, and is what is now called control. The gentry in general came originally from the farmers. The old rule was that if one resigned from the gentry he returned to the original farmer status. But now in Japan people are divided into two fixed classes, gentry and farmers; and, as the gentry family line continues to be gentry, if any resign from it, they do not return to the farmer status. If they are employed as feudal officials, they become courtiers and are given salaries; otherwise they become Shoshi and work at any sort of thing for a livelihood. Such persons are now called outlaws (Ronin). Ronin are not allowed to live in Kyoto, Osaka, and other cities. As they are also barred out of the provinces of the Daimyo, there are no places in these where Ronin can live. But as Yeddo is the Imperial Capital, there has been from ancient times no prohibition there to Ronin. And as it is easy for them to live in the place, a large number of Ronin assemble in the Eastern Capital. Although they usually live at ease, yet under certain circumstances they are officially inspected and some are made to suffer. In the places where the Ronin wish to live, the owners who let building land and rent houses think it will cause trouble to rent to Ronin, and so they keep the Ronin at a distance. This is one of the causes of suffering for the Ronin. The Ronin are not under any control, yet when anything special occurs, they are attached to the city governors. When all is peaceful, they are not subject to government orders; but when anything special occurs, they appear at the governor's office and are treated the same as the merchant class. Thus the bodies of gentlemen are disgraced. Though they are Shoshi to-day, they may be employed to-morrow as officials or even court gentry of the State.

To treat a person who may become the courtier of a Daimyo just as a shopkeeper is treated is not the way to

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develop uprightness among the gentry. As the Doshinsha are priests, if any thing happens and they have to report at an office, it is at that of the Commissioner of Shrines and Temples. But, as this officer has no jurisdiction over them, the Doshinsha usually do not receive the commands of the government. Usually there are different sects connected with the temples. Within any one sect there is a Manager (僧録), and there are Head Temples (本寺), and a Junto (徇頭), or Head of the Means of Communication, each supervising its own department. Educated priests are controlled by the Chief Head Temples (本山寺) of a sect. In this way they receive the orders of the government. There is a kind of priests called Loafing Priests (願人). These are men like the beggars and pariahs. They are the beggars among priests, and though they are the very lowest type of the class, they too have supervision and are governed under one head. So they receive the orders of the government. It is only the Doshinsha who have no supervision. The two (the Ronin and Doshinsha) are outside the purview of the law. My private opinion is that the supervision of the Ronin ought to be entrusted to an Imperial Courtier of the sixth rank or over, having an assistant official and infantry under him to supervise the different Ronin throughout the city. All Ronin living in the city ought to have their former domicile clearly defined, and their ancestors plainly specified and their names and places of residence in the city registered; and of those Ronin having ancestors who are honest and who are wealthy in houses and goods, one in each of the four quarters of the city ought to be appointed as head to communicate the government orders to the rest. If such like arrangements were made, the Ronin would become more upright, and there would be very few worthless gentry. Again, there are now men who are not Ronin by descent, but are in fact farmers, artizans, merchants and shopkeepers, and who merely present the appearance of samurai. Lying, they call themselves Ronin. There are living in the city a great number of this sort of men, who, wearing two swords, deceive the gentry and the common people. If there were a control office for Ronin, and if the places whence Ronin have come were

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there verified, then such fellows as these would naturally cease to exist. This would help to maintain peaceful government, and also help forward military preparations. The proper temples for the Doshinsha should all be in one part of the city, and the members of the class, no matter of what sect, should all be placed under the jurisdiction of these temples, and the native place—the place where he came from, and the business of each of these Doshinsha should be clearly stated. The temples from which they have severally obtained permission to become priests should send certificates to the temples of their particular jurisdiction, and the temples of jurisdiction should issue certificates, or wooden tickets, to be worn during life, to the Doshinsha; and from their number they should have several chiefs appointed, as has been said, to communicate all ordinary government orders. Generally, there are very few Doshinsha who live in temple buildings. Most of them live in cities and villages and mingle with other people; but, as there is no supervision over them, there are a great many worthless fellows, and these never cease to do evil. If there were supervising offices and they were made subject to inspection from time to time, then the worthless fellows would have no places to hide in and the evil would be gradually checked. This would materially help the government of the State.

The regulations with regard to the State crowning are as already explained by me in my essay on Distinctive Clothing. At the present time it would be difficult to make regulations at once for distinctive clothing; but if the clothing of the gentry and common people could be regulated, it would be of advantage to them. The former Shogun ordered that the women of the gentry and common people should not wear small sleeves and clothing sewn with gold thread, and the clothing of farmers, artisans and merchants was limited to silk and pongee. At that time the women of the gentry and common people were ordered to take the gold thread out of their small sleeve clothing, and to take off the gold covering. But in a short time this law was abolished, and afterwards the women of the gentry and common people wore in public small sleeves and clothing sewn with gold thread. This is what was called "the law of

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the three days." After abolishing this law, should again the wearing of gold thread be generally prohibited to the women of the gentry and common people, it would become a great misfortune. That is to say, if small sleeves and embroideries are once prohibited and the wearing of them is stopped, it will cost the homes of the gentry and common people who ordered them a large sum to buy new silk, cotton and linen clothing etc. If silken small sleeves have to be sold off, there will be no buyers; but if it is seen that silk, cotton and linen are immediately wanted, the prices will become high. If this happens, then the troubles of the gentry and common people will be doubled. Again, for the clothing of small sleeves sewn with gold thread to become useless and good for nothing, is not in accordance with the laws of heaven and earth. This is not good government. The common people alone should be prohibited from using splendid embroideries; while the men and women of the gentry and those above them ought to be allowed to wear splendid embroideries. If this is done, all of the splendid embroideries of the common people will have to be sold off, and those people who cut up these splendid embroideries will of course sell them cheap, and this will result in all of the beautiful clothing of the people being returned to the gentry, there being a difference in rank between the gentry and the common people, that of the gentry being high and that of the people low. This wearing of embroideries by the gentry would be the distinctive clothing of the period. Generally, the clothing worn is what distinguishes the noble from the ignoble and the high from the low. As there are at present no regulations with regard to the clothing of the gentry and common people, there is no means of distinguishing between the high and the low, especially when the gentry and courtiers are poor and wear poor clothing. As the rich among the common people are many and they wear plenty of beautiful clothing, the gentry are always pressed down by the people as if they had no shadows. Because of this, the gentry and courtiers naturally toady to such fellows as merchants and shopkeepers. This is not the kind of thing to advance the spirit of the gentry. Is this not sad?

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In China the people have the five terms Sei (姓), Shi (氏, Mei (名), Ji (字) and Go (號). Sei applies to one family line from the first ancestor down. In Japan we have the Sei shown in examples like Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara and Tachibana. Shi is a term used for the division of descendants and is taken from the districts they severally govern. Or, it is the taking by a family for its own name of the name of the place of domicile. This appears in the term Shizoku (氏族). In Japan we have examples of this in the Minamoto, Nitta, Ashikaga, and so on. This is what we now call surnames (苗字). Mei is the name (名) given at the time of birth by the father. In Japan we have examples of this in Yoritomo and Takauji etc. What the vulgar now call Nanori (名乘) is just this. Ji (aza 字) is the name given to one on his arriving at the age of fifteen and when the ceremonial hat and coat are put on by the godfather. The name being given to show the person's virtue, it is called the name for showing the virtue (表德號). Therefore, when a person refers to himself he speaks of his Mei (名), and when spoken of by others he is called by his Ji. This is according to the rules of etiquette. Go is the name used temporarily by other persons when the Mei (名) and Ji (字) are not used.

These are, as above stated, the five kinds of names used in China. In Japan there are three kinds, namely, Sei (姓), Shi (氏), and Mei (名). The other two, Ji and Go, do not exist. The ancients had such names (名) as Taro and Jiro, but these are not really names (名), they are Gyotei (行弟). Gyotei are brothers in order of birth. In the To dynasty of China, when a man was spoken of, he was wont to be called by his Gyotei. The Japanese, following this example, called people by their Gyotei. Where we at present call a man Sayemon, Hioyei or Daiyu, it is because in ancient times a warrior named, say Goro, who was, perhaps, Jo (尉) of the Guards (衞), was then called Gorobyoei. Again, Jiro as Jo of the Guards (Sayemon, 左衞門) was called Jirosayemon. The Jo of Eimon and Hyoyei (Guards) were sixth rank officials (官), and if they were advanced to the fifth rank, they were called Daiyu (大夫). Yoshitsune being Kuro (ninth brother), when he became Jo of the fifth rank, he was called Kuro-Daiyu-Hankan (九郎大夫判官),

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that is, the judge of the Eimon and Hyoyei. Then again, when the samurai, Sayemon of Minamoto, became Jo, he was called Minamoto Sayemon. When a samurai of the Taira became Jo of Hyoyei, he was called Heiyoei. These are all the names of officials. This custom has remained until these latter times. Persons who were not even officials of the Guards copied from the ancients, and, using the official names, were guilty of practical rebellion. Again, people of to-day who call themselves So-and-so Nosuke, So-and-so Nojo and So-and-so Noshin etc., are all using the names of officials. Again, take those who to-day are appointed to the Jiu fifth rank and who call themselves Lord of Yamashiro or Lord of Yamato, these are using the official names of governors

Nakatsukasa-no-Taiyu, Kamon, Uta, Chumu, Jobu, Gagaku etc. are all official names. The present custom of thinking that these are all mere names is a great mistake. Names are what we now call nanori. The Japanese have never as a rule had Ji and Go. It is a private affair of scholars if they have Ji and Go. In ancient times it was usual for the Kuge, Buke and common people to be called by their given names (名); but in later times it has become the custom to call people even privately by their official titles (官名). The use of given names (名) has gradually disappeared. It is now only the Kuge who retain the old custom and make use of them. The Buke are never so called; so that amongst relatives and friends they mutually do not know each other's given names (名). Even in the ceremonies at Court these given names (名) are not used. And as in the State Registers they are not recorded and only official names are given, it is difficult to understand who So-and-so really is. It is very usual in these late times, for father and son for generations to succeed by common custom to the official title. Again, in the same family you will find that the official title by which that man was called yesterday is used for this man to-day. For instance, where formerly the Prince Matsumoto was called Midzuno, Lord of Hiuga, afterwards when Prince Matsumoto was overthrown, Yuki, who succeeded him, was also called Midzuno, Lord of Hiuga, and so on.

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Especially when there are a great many, in addition to the Daimyo, who are called Matsumoto, and when one official title is used for this and that man indiscriminately and only the surname and official title are given, there will be no means of knowing who any particular man is. If these kinds of people do not use their given names (名) but only their official titles, and if in the Court Records etc. the given names (名) are omitted and only the official names or titles recorded, there will be great confusion, and, much more, it will be impossible to tell who a man is after five or ten years. Thus of what use will the register be? This is a great oversight from the point of view of the law. Even now there are Kuge who have existed from ancient times, and who commonly use their given names (名). There are such names as Konoye and Kujo, but these are not individual names. The offices of *daijin* (大臣) and *nagon* (納言) are not the offices of an individual, and when those who fill them speak of themselves officially they do not use their given names (名). But as there is no reason why they should be called ordinarily by the names (號) of their houses or by their official titles, they should call themselves each by his own given name (名). This does not apply to Kuge only, but to religious officials as well, such as those of Kamo and Yoshida, who use their given names (名) in a similar way. When I visited Kamo some time ago I saw in the reception guard room the names of Negi etc. There were several long boards hung up with the names of Negi written on them. The ranks of Juigoika, Shorokuijo etc. were written above, and the surnames (姓名) Kamo So-and-so written below, with surnames (苗字) in addition for each house. They had such official titles as Sakon, Hoyobu etc., and they were usually called by their surnames and their temporary official titles. For instance, although they were called Ichojo, Mimbu, Nashimoto, Zakyo etc., in the register of the head of the shrine they were not so recorded, but only their rank, position and surnames (姓名) were given. This was according to the old laws of Japan and also to the Etiquette of the Middle Kingdom. Actors, too, have surnames (苗字) and official names, and are usually called by them; but in the Index of Museums only the surnames (姓名)

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would like to see the use of Sama abolished and all the people, high and low alike, return to the old Dono usage. Even now the Kuge do not use Sama. To preserve old customs is a very good thing.

Good citizens are generally those who engage honestly in agriculture, handicrafts, mercantile business or shop-keeping. The rest are outcasts (雑戸). This is as has already been shown. It is natural for some men to like honest work, but for others not to care for it, and to prefer instead the dishonest work of the outcast. Those who like dishonest work are all worthless fellows. To educate and change these worthless fellows into good citizens was more than the Emperors Kyo and Shun could accomplish. Therefore, there were established in their Imperial cities and in the castles of the Princes all kinds of diversions, which were made the occupations of the outcasts, such diversions namely as had their centers in the theatres, pleasure-women houses, hair-dressers' establishments, those of conjurers etc. The number of these places was according to whether the number of the citizens in the city was great or small. The castle-capitals of Japan at present are Yeddo, Kyoto and Osaka. Osaka is smaller than Yeddo, but, although Kyoto is smaller than Osaka, the number of theatres, hair-dressers' establishments etc. is several times greater there even than in Yeddo. Yeddo is the greatest city within the seas, and it is not known how many millions of courtiers, gentry and common people live there; but, apart from the pleasure-women houses of the Yoshiwara and the theatres in Boundary Street, there are practically no theatres or hair-dressing places. Those which existed until recent times were all abolished under Shotoku and Kyoho (1711—1735). As for the worthless fellows who had previously lived by their dishonest efforts, having no means of livelihood and having lost their occupations, there were unknown thousands and tens of thousands of them to be found any day who were cold and starving. As they were originally pleasure-loving, lazy, worthless characters, they could not learn to do honest work and become good citizens; and as they could not support life by pleasure and idleness, they naturally became gamblers, and,

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finally, falling into extremities, they became evil doers such as robbers and incendiaries. This is a natural result and cannot be helped.

Therefore, in Imperial cities and Princes' castles it is a part of good government to establish a number of pleasure-providing places, such as theatres, pleasure-women houses etc. There are three advantages that naturally result from so doing. One is that because of these various pleasures the city flourishes. The flourishing of the city is one sign of peace. Without it the city would be dull and lonely. Loneliness is a sign of decay. The second advantage is that worthless fellows are thus enabled to make a living, and so are naturally deterred from committing such bad deeds as robbery and incendiarism. Such fellows when they do evil do it knowing that they must be punished. It is not because they like evil; they do it because they cannot help themselves. As for the third advantage, it is this, that gold and silver, generally speaking, should circulate and not remain idle. If these pleasure places are many in number, then the gold and silver of the rich among the citizens will be scattered and thus pass into circulation. If there are no pleasure houses, then the gold and silver of the rich will not be so scattered, but will remain hoarded up in strong rooms for long periods of time, and the gold and silver that is current will become scarce. These three things are all for the good and evil of the state, and the government officials who, without perceiving the good and evil involved in them, prohibit all such pleasuring are men who do not know how to govern peacefully. If possible I would like to see the prohibition avoided. There are, however, two things which ought to be prohibited to citizens. In the first place, while it is right and proper that Buddhist priests should expound the law in temples, they now gather foolish people together in market places and shops and expound the law to them there; and there are even some of the laity who thus expound the law. This is against both the Buddhist law and that of the State. Secondly, in ancient times there was no such doctrine as that of Shinto. The present day Shinto was first started by Urabe Kanetomo (Ashikaga Period). It is a doctrine used by

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priests and priestesses acting for the Gods. It has nothing to do with the governing of the State or with the care of one's body. It is of no profit for the ordinary person to study it, but quite the reverse, the study will only do harm. If this doctrine is to be preached, then only priests and priestesses should be assembled, and that at the houses of priests and priestesses. Ordinary persons should not have it taught to them. But now such as are not even priests or priestesses learn the doctrine and get foolish citizens together in market places and shops and preach to them, and even passers-by on the roads are caused to hear. These two things do a great deal of harm to government, and if possible they should be strictly prohibited. When the State does not prohibit that which ought to be prohibited, and prohibits that which ought not to be prohibited, it simply means that its offices are filled by officials who do not understand the first principles of government. At present the daimyo have caretakers in their palaces in the Eastern Capital, whose business it is to hear daily of the various matters of State government and of any changes or good or evil fortune that may come to other daimyo of the same rank. These are called Caretakers (Rusui 留居) or Listening Officials (聽役). This custom did not prevail at the time of the beginning of the State (third Shogun, Iyemitsu), but began at some unknown subsequent period. At present the office is a most important one relative to the daimyo. At first this rule for the officials of the daimyo obtained informally and only in this dynasty has it been made into a State law. It is not right, however, that these officials should inquire into the changes, losses and gains of daimyo of the same rank as that of their masters. If they have their masters' interests at heart when they appear at Court, they should not concern themselves about the interests of others. Should anything untoward happen, or should they decide upon action based upon the knowledge and decision of their lords, they would have no time to concern themselves with the affairs of others. In ancient times the Daimyo were wont to decide all matters for themselves, whether public or private, and it could therefore be clearly seen whether they were clever or foolish, loyal or

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otherwise. At present the listening officials ask about the affairs of daimyo of the same rank as that of their masters, and the result is that all things are done in the same way and no one daimyo is permitted to excel another. Even if one is determined to perform some extra act of duty, he may not do so. Consequently even a mediocre lord does not fall behind others. This is what is called advancing or retreating in companies. By advancing or retreating in companies is meant that all of one rank advance or retreat together. In this way the cleverness and stupidity of the daimyo are all mixed up together. They cannot decide on matters of duty themselves, but must leave all to the listening officials. Thus, these officials, having public duties entrusted to them, gain power in the daimyos' palaces, and the lords and courtiers all, being afraid of them, yield to their wishes in all things. The listening officials, taking advantage of the positions they thus occupy, are guilty of the offence of pushing their own selfish interests. And then, again, these listening officials of various daimyates combine with one another to thwart their respective lords in every way. That a man's retainers should not have intercourse with strangers is the way of the samurai; but the present day listening officials think most of outside intercourse and despise their lords. These officials are all guilty of rebellion against the way of the retainer. The reason for the overthrow of the customs of the daimyo lies in origin just here. This injures the government of the local officials in their several jurisdictions. If possible I should like to see this custom abolished and the daimyo left free, as in ancient times, to do their public duty as they wish. If not prohibited by the government, why should not some lord (daimyo) who is greater than the others make bold to put a stop to the custom?

With regard to the daily affairs of government, these could be ascertained through one of the Court gentry. With regard to the changes for good or ill with daimyo of the same rank, news could be had through kind friends giving information. That which could not be gained in this way could somehow be learned later. But even if no news were obtainable regarding these matters, that would not cause any suffering.

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Other matters than these, such as particular duties and social calls and presents given in times of joy and sorrow, all these could be dealt with personally. By thus attending to all matters, even if there were no listening officials, nothing would be neglected. But as there are now no daimyo of exceptional ability, they have been led by custom—it has not been by regulation of the State—into this listening officials arrangement, with the result that they have lost their awe-inspiring status as lords, and the listening officials their sense of duty as retainers. Is this not a sorrowful condition of these latter times? Generally, the retainers who stand near the left and the right hands of their lords are not allowed to mingle with outsiders. This is an ancient practice. It prevents the useless leakage to outsiders of the lord's private affairs. But if the near retainers go abroad, they can sell their power and knowledge and get private gain; and the gentry and common people take advantage of this fact to obtain gain and such things as are not good. In this way a great deal of harm is done to government. Therefore, from ancient times, we have had the saying that the retainer standing near his lord should be prohibited from mingling with outsiders. This is a matter of which the lords of men ought to take careful notice. In governing a State the fact that the gentry and common people are attached to the soil belongs to the beginnings of things. This has already been said. Therefore, when the daimyo have once become established in a province, they ought never to leave it, but always to remain there like the hardening rock. The government, however, is repeatedly moving the daimyo to other places, and this leads to the decay of the State. In times of peace it means hardship for the royal house, and in rebellious times it means deficient war preparations and easy overthrow. In order to the peaceful government of the State it is certainly best that the Daimyo be not thus moved about. We have in this dynasty what is called "changing of places." It is customary for hereditary daimyo and friends to move and exchange fiefs. There are some daimyo who change their places several times during a single lifetime. This leads to trouble for the daimyo, is tiresome for the people and contrary to human government;

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and it makes light of the necessity for military preparations. If possible, this changing-of-places system should be abolished, and the daimyo be made to govern each his own province continuously and for a long time. This would be the way of peace and a method of government in conformity with that of the sages.

The Recording Secretary then read the following comments on Mr. Kirby's paper from Mr. John C. Hall, British Consul-General in Yokohama:—

For English readers Mr. Kirby may be considered the discoverer of Dazai, and his translations from that author's works I regard as amongst the most valuable portion of the material for sociological research to be found in the Society's transactions. Dazai was a vigorous thinker of the old or conservative school of Confucianism, a profound student of the ethical philosophy of China and of China's political history; always on the alert to apply the wisdom gained from his studies to the institutions and manners of his own country. His remarks on the institutions of marriage and adoption in the paper which has just been read, show him to be a man of strong common sense, and the boldness of some of his criticisms would seem to show that a very considerable measure of freedom of thought was permitted to philosophical writers under the Tokugawa regime.

The paper also reveals to us another side of Dazai's character. Like his model, Confucius himself, he was an aristocrat by position and temperament, and had his full share of the prejudices peculiar to the *Samurai* caste. While ready enough to approve of the intermingling by marriage or adoption of the military, baronial and knightly families with those of the sacred circle of the Kyoto Court nobility, he was strongly opposed to the commoners achieving social promotion by admission into the rank of the *bushi* or *samurai*. In this he faithfully reflected the prejudices of his own class and time. Throughout the earlier centuries of Japanese feudalism, from the times of Yoritomo to those of Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, it was usual for the ranks of the *samurai* to be recruited from the wealthier members of the farming class; but for more than a century before the close of the Tokugawa regime this avenue of social promotion was entirely shut off from the commonalty, and this exhibition of caste injustice was one of the underlying causes that helped to precipitate the overthrow of Japan's feudal dynasties.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Kirby's example will be followed by other members of the Society, and that side by side with papers of original research, our transactions will contain translations from the classical writers of the Tokugawa era; which, after all, was the true Augustan age of Japanese civilization.

After Mr. Hall had finished, the Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Kirby for his interesting translations of Dazai's voluminous writings.

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THE ANCIENT SHINTO DEITY

AME-NO-MINAKA-NUSHI-NO-KAMI

SEEN IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.

BY

GENCHI KATO, BUNGAKUSHI,

LECTURER ON THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION

IN THE

IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO.

1908.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

R.A.M.—The Records of Ancient Matters (*Kojiki*, 古事記).

C.J.—The Chronicles of Japan (*Nihongi* 日本書紀).

A.M.N.K.—Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami.

E.R.A.M.—The Exposition of the Records of Ancient Matters (古事記傳).

E.C.J.—The Exposition of the Chronicles of Japan (日本書紀傳).

E.A.H.—The Exposition of the Ancient Histories (古史傳).

T.A.S.J.—The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

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The Ancient Shinto Diety, Ame-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-kami, seen in the Light of To-day.

CHAPTER I.

THE STRANGENESS OF THE DEITY'S CHARACTER FIRST ATTRACTS OUR ATTENTION.

1.—THE DEITY MENTIONED ONCE AND ONCE ONLY IN R.A.M. AND IN C. J., IN CONTRADISTINCTION TO THE OTHER TWO DEITIES IN THE SAME TRIAD.

Every one who has once read the *Kojiki*, or R.A.M., will remember that at the very outset the compilers of the book mention the name of a deity called A.M.N.K., the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, along with the names of other deities called Taka-mi-musubi-no-kami, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (or the Lofty-Producer) and Kami-musu-bi-no-kami, the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity (or the Divine-Producer). But, strange to say, the first deity at once after its appearance disappears from the long, varied scenes of the heavenly dramas described in the *Kojiki*, while the latter two deities are reckoned among the chief actors, always playing remarkable parts in the book. First of all, it is certain that this curious fact demands the reader's attention. It is said, by the way, that these three deities probably may once have formed a triad (or trinity, like Brahma, 'Siva and Visnu in the Hindu trimūrti, A.M.N.K. taking the head position just as Brahma took first rank in Hinduism), according to the view of the authoritative commentators, N. Motoori, A. Hirata and many others. This view, however, is not altogether convincing.*

* Motoori and Hirata interpret the meaning of the word "next" as not implying time-succession, but rather as signifying a spatial relation, which means juxtaposition, "next" = *tsugini* (次ニ); if so, these three deities may have once formed a triad, or trinity. Vide Chamberlain's *Kojiki*, T. A. S. J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15; also, Motoori's E.R.A.M., vol. iii., pp. 11-12; and Hirata's E.A.H., vol. i., p. 16.

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2.—NO AUTHENTIC SHRINE WAS EVER DEDICATED TO THE DEITY-MASTER-OF-THE-AUGUST-CENTER-OF-HEAVEN IN ANCIENT TIMES; WHILE THE OTHER TWO DEITIES IN ONE AND THE SAME TRIAD, VIZ., THE LOFTY-PRODUCER AND THE DIVINE-PRODUCER, HAVE BEEN VERY POPULAR EVERYWHERE IN JAPAN SINCE COMPARATIVELY REMOTE TIMES.

But let us consider whether there is any *historically authentic* sanctuary that was in ancient times dedicated to the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. It is true that, according to a certain tradition, Wada Jinja (和田神社), at Mukogun (武庫郡) in Settsu, is a shrine dedicated to A. M. N. K.; but the origin of the shrine dates back to only about 250 years ago (A.D. 1659). To make matters worse, according to another tradition, the deity of this shrine is not A. M. N. K., but *Kuni-toko-tachi-no-kami*, or the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity (see the *Settsu-meisho-zu-e* 攝津名所圖會). Besides, we are traditionally told that Oka-da Jinja (岡田神社), in the same district, is dedicated to A.M.N.K.; but, according to the painstaking investigation of the famous Shintoist, Suzuka, it is by no means certain which god is worshipped in the shrine (see the *Jinja-kaku-roku*, or *Catalogue of the Shinto Shrines*, 鈴鹿連胤著神社覈錄上, p. 583).

It would seem to be quite unnecessary to consider here any other of the so-called shrines of the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, of which the origin is either uncertain or dubitable, but let us examine two cases out of many which appear at first sight to deserve the privilege of being accounted shrines raised to this Deity.

Some scholars hold the opinion that the two sanctuaries mentioned below were erected in honor of the same Deity *in remote antiquity;* they insist on the view that the *Ten-ichi-Kuwa-da-no-jin-ja* (天一桑田神社), at Suzukagun (鈴鹿郡) in Ise, and the *Ten-ichi-kan-tama-no-jin-ja* (天一神玉神社), at Sayogun (佐用郡) in Harima, which are mentioned in the *Institutes of the Period Engi* (901—923), or *Engi-shiki* (延喜式), are both shrines that were dedicated to A. M. N. K.; they interpret the Chinese characters *ten-ichi* (天一) as being A. M. N. K. (天御中主), on the ground that the Chinese "*ten-ichi*" is to be identified with the Japanese

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naka-ga-mi (奈加加美 or 中神) in the "*Japanese Words Classified and Explained*," or *Wa-myo-rui-ju-sho* (和名類聚鈔), and suppose *naka-ga-mi* to be A.M.N.K. As is easily seen, however, this interpretation is too far-fetched to be convincing, and it is beyond all doubt that the hypothesis is after all nothing but a bold speculation. Consequently, most competent Japanese commentators are opposed to the view. In short, the *earlier traditions* of Japan are utterly silent as to the existence of any *authentic* sanctuary of the Deity. It goes without saying that I do not mean to include in this statement shrines of modern origin that are dedicated to A.M.N.K., or to refer to any sort of worship of the Deity practised by certain modern Shinto sects, e.g., the Mitakekyo, the Shusei-ha, and many others.*

3.— THE NAMES OF THE ONLY TWO FAMILIES WHO CLAIM TO BE DESCENDED FROM THE DIETY ARE MENTIONED IN THE SHOJIROKU, OR CATALOGUE OF FAMILY NAMES.

In the *Catalogue of Family Names* a great many noble families who are reported to be of divine origin are mentioned, and certain numbers of them claim to be the descendants of the above-mentioned two Wondrous-Producing-Deities, while those descended from A.M.N.K. are counted to be two families and two only. They are called respectively *Mi-te-shiro-no-obito* (御手代首) and *Hattori-no-muraji* (服部連). This fact leads us to the question: Why has such a supreme deity in the triad as A.M.N.K. so few descendants, in contradistinction to the numerous descendants of the two Wondrous-Producing-Deities? Is this not a fact which is inexplicable to an ordinary mind? What light can be shed on this strange phenomenon from the comparative study of religion the reader will find at the end of this short treatise.†

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* Vide Motoori's E. R. A. M., vol. iii., pp. 9, 10; Hirata's E. A. H., vol. i., pp. 12–16; Sato's (佐藤信淵) *Yo-zo-ka-iku-ron* (鎔造化育論) or *Cosmogony*, p. 1; Suzuki's (鈴木重胤) E. C. J., vol. iv., pp. 64–88; Matsuoka's (松岡調) A. M. N. K.—ho-shi-jin-ja-sho-zai-ben (天御中主神奉祀神社所在辨), or "Where Can We Find the Shrine of A. M. N. K.?" and Aston's *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, p. 142.

† Besides, we meet with one more descendant of A. M. N. K., called *Ame-no-hi-waki-no-mikoto* (claimed to be the 12th descendant of the Deity), a companion of the Emperor Jimmu, in the *Ko-fu-do-ki-itsu-bun*, or *Fragments from the Older Topographies*, compiled by the late Professor Kurita of the Tokyo Imperial University (栗田寛古風土記逸文上 p. 8).

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4.—THE DEITY'S GRADUAL DISSOLUTION INTO THE GENERAL TERM "HEAVENLY DEITIES," OR AMATSU-KAMI.

As is shown above, the name A.M.N.K. is mentioned once, and once only, throughout the whole of the book *Kojiki*, and afterwards the name disappears entirely. Whither has it gone? Nobody can tell. The collective appellation, *Amatsu-kami*,* the Heavenly Deities that are afterwards often mentioned in the *Kojiki*, naturally leads us to suppose that A.M.N.K. may have been included under this collective appellation and therein may have continued its existence. The learned Suzuki adopted this view. Let us, therefore, assume this interpretation to be correct; and yet we are still inclined to say that the idea of A.M.N.K. had already been losing even that implication of the so-called Heavenly Deities, even in the fabulous Divine Age, and we see very often that the seat of A.M.N.K. was taken by either the two Producing Deities or Amaterasu-o-mi-kami, the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. This fact proves that the belief in A.M.N.K. was not constituting the actual central part of the religious consciousness of the ancient Japanese even in so remote a time as the legendary Divine Age.

5.—WHAT IS THE SEXUAL DISTINCTION OF THE DEITY?

Last of all, what is the sexual distinction of A.M.N.K.? Is the deity a god or a goddess? Strictly speaking, to this question we have no positive answer, being left wholly in the dark; or, more precisely, we can not in fact draw a decisive conclusion, either from the etymological analysis of the divine name or from the contexts of the *Kojiki*, except that the Japanese etymology of *nushi* (master or lord) or *ushi* (superior) hints slightly that the deity might be a male, as the Japanese *nushi* or *ushi* is used mostly for a male rather than for a female, while the Japanese *toji* (刀自, lit. door-keeper, i.e. mistress or madam) is used for a female only. The opinions regarding the sexual distinction of the deity naturally differ

* E.g., the *Kojiki* says: "Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities, His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-Who-Invites, ordering them to make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land." Chamberlain's R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 3, p. 19.

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among the exegetical commentators. Consequently, one party hold it to be a male, a second insist that it is a female, and a third maintain that it is of both sexes, i.e. bi-sexual, or rather that the deity is super-sexual, and is therefore a spiritual existence. This last logical deduction is certainly one of later origin invented by some of the Shinto theologians. Above all, Suzuki can rightly be reckoned among the ardent advocates of this view.

CHAPTER II.

A FURTHER CLOSE EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF R.A.M.

1.—THE INTERPRETATION OF THE EXPRESSION "*mi-mi-o-kakushi-tamainu*" (隱身也).

Such is the strangeness of the character of A.M.N.K. This fact is known by every one who has taken the trouble merely to cast a glance at the first page of the *Kojiki*. Now, let us examine more closely the actual text of the *Kojiki*. We shall first quote from the English translation by Chamberlain. It runs as follows :—

"The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, next, the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, next, the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15).

Notice first of all the expression "hid their persons". Chamberlain comments on this passage, agreeing very closely with Motoori's view. He writes, "They (the above-mentioned three deities) all came into existence without being procreated in the manner usual with both gods and men, and afterwards disappeared, i.e. died" (p. 16). Here the question arises: Does the expression "hid their persons", i.e. *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* (隱身也), mean "died", as Chamberlain renders it?

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Chamberlain takes the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* for the expression "retired," i.e. "died," or *Kan-sari-mashinu* (神避坐也), as conveying the same signification as "to die" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, pp. 15, 16; and sec. 7, pp. 33, 34); but this is rather objectionable from the customary usage of the earlier Japanese language. In the older diction, "*Kan-sari-mashinu*" means "to die," as Chamberlain rendered it, but "*mimio-kakushi-tamainu*" has a somewhat different signification, i.e., not "to die," but simply "to hide or conceal" one's bodily form behind something, even though one does not really die; e.g., to take an imaginary case, a comet appears, and after a short interval of time it disappears, but we cannot conclude from this that the comet has died or that it has been annihilated. Thus it is clear that the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* signifies, not to die, but simply, to be concealed from bodily sight, or, so to speak, the deities' fleeing from man's field of bodily vision to the Epicurean *intermundia*. Consequently, the true meaning of the text here is simply this, the existence of the deities is real, or is a matter of actual fact, like that of the sun, but the human naked eye cannot see the divinely fine ethereal body. What I have here said is, I think, the true meaning of the expression *mimio-kakushi-tamainu* as it is used by the *Kojiki* compilers. In this sense, "*mimio-kakushi-tamainu*" (隱身也) can be read as "*kakurimi-nari*", which really means a hidden body, i.e. (divine) ethereal body imperceptible to man's naked eye. Hence, the acute-sighted Shinto theologian, Suzuki, further thought that the Divine Body of A. M. N. K. is invisible, in other words, the Deity is spiritual. The reader will not fail to see that this idea of Suzuki is only his speculative conclusion in regard to the Deity, and not the actually existing primitive belief of our ancestors. For, how lofty a nature has been ascribed through the long course of theological developments to the Deity! *

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* Vide Suzuki's E. J. C., vol. v., pp. 1, 2; iv., pp. 48, 49, 64, 69, 70, 71, 75; vol. iii., pp. 8, 9.

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2.—THE SHARP DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE THREE TRIUNE DEITIES AND THE OTHER TWO DEITIES, *i.e.* UMASHI-ASHI-KABI-HIKOJI-NO-KAMI AND AMENO-TOKO-TACHI-NO-KAMI, IN THE SAME PAGE OF R. A. M.

I have just quoted a few lines of the first page of the *Kojiki*. Continuing therefrom the text is as follows:—

"The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Deity, or Umashi-ashi-kabi-hiko-jino-kami, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, or Ameno-toko-tachi-no-kami. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons" (R.A.M., T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 1, p. 15).

Here, as we can clearly recognize, there is a sharp distinction between the preceding three deities, i.e. the above discussed triune deities and the two deities just mentioned, because the former do not come out of any material substance outside of the deities, while the latter are born from a medusa-like matter, i.e. chaos. It seems to us that in the former case the three deities stand aloof, apart from matter, and so are self-born, i.e. without beginning, limitless, infinite, supreme; while in the latter case, on the contrary, it is clear enough that the two deities are more or less restricted by matter outside of themselves out of which they have come into existence. If this explanation of the text of the *Kojiki* is not objectionable, we can easily see that the former three deities, i.e. the triune deities, occupy the highest position in the Japanese pantheon, and that *a fortiori* the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is the divine King of Kings, the Deity of Deities.

3.—WHAT IS THE PLAIN OF HIGH HEAVEN, OR TAKA-MANO-HARA?

Where is the Plain of High Heaven, or *Takama-no-hara*, in which these first three deities came into being? What is that Plain of High Heaven? These are the questions which have often hitherto attracted the keen attention of our inquirers. It seems to me that those who tried to determine its situation historico-geographically failed to succeed, because

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they mistook a myth for a real historical fact. I partly agree with Motoori's and Hirata's view, that the Plain of High Heaven is nothing but this visible aerial sky or ether, in other words, *hoc sublime candens*, as the Latin poet puts it. The Greeks once called it the Olympos, where the gods and goddesses had their abode and held their councils. The ancient Teutons called it the *Asgard*, a *civitas deorum*, or the garden of the gods, where they peopled the divine *Aesir*. The ancient Persians called it the *Hara-berezaiti*, which is the heavenly mountain whence the sun rises, and upon which is the abode of the gods. The Plain of High Heaven of the ancient Japanese is a mythical place in heaven, where the divine tribes assembled and took council. If so, it is self-evident that those historians, e.g. H. Arai (新井白石),* who tried to discover it historico-geographically, did not succeed in reaching their goal.

4.—THE SIMPLE NATURE-WORSHIP AND THE COMPLEX: THE POSITION OF A.M.N.K.

The Latin poet sings of his supreme god or Heavenly Father, Jupiter:—

Adspice hoc sublime candens quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Here certainly the heaven or sky itself, which can be seen by the naked eye, is revered as a god. The Greek *Zeus* and the Indian *Dyaus* were all, at the beginning, just this visible heaven or sky. And besides, the Indian *Vata* was originally the physical wind which one feels and hears. *Agni*, the Vedic fire-god, was at first simply any and every fire, i.e. the physical flame: *Sūrya*, the visible sun; *Ushas*, the dawn etc. In ancient Greece, *Apollon*, according to A. Weber, was the sun and its fire, and *Pallas-Athene* was the palpable storm itself. In ancient Egypt, besides the sun (*Ra*, *Re*, or *Aten*, *Aton*), heaven (*Nut*) and earth (*Seb*) were originally taken for the gods themselves. Moreover, among primitive peoples, lakes, rivers, waterfalls, mountains, forests, birds and beasts as such are all worshipped as gods. This stage of the religious developments of a race I should like to designate as the stage of simple or

* e.g. Vide *The Koshi-tsu* (新井白石著古史通); also, Hirata's refutation, entitled *Zoku-shinto-taii*, or *Outlines of Popular Shintoism*, vol. iv., pp. 9-11.

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primary nature-worship. We do not find any difficulty in tracing this stage of religious development in ancient Japan, though in the *Kojiki* there are a few signs of it, and most deities were already advanced to the next stage in the development. *Naru-kami*, or "thundering god", may be simply a thundering natural phenomenon in origin; *ōkami*, which means etymologically "great deity", is originally nothing but a great beast, a wolf etc. In my opinion these are probably remnants of the primary nature-worship found among the words now in daily use. Modern uneducated people in Japan worship every morning the sun itself which is visible to man's naked eye, clapping their hands as they do so. The Japanese words *kushi-bi* (奇靈), or simply *hi* (火, 日) whose nigoried form is *bi*, which is in fact nothing but physical fire or the sun, means "wondrous"; so, from time immemorial, the Japanese may have been worshipping the visible sun itself as "The wondrous", i.e. the Divine, as is customary among Indians, Greeks, Babylonians and Egyptians in ancient times, who all alike, without exception, worshipped the visible sun as divine. The Indian *Surya*, the Greek *Apollon*, the Babylonian *Shamash*, the Egyptian *Aten* or *Ra* are among the names given. I shall quote a few lines from E.R.A.M. (Aston's translation) in order to illustrate this point. "There are many cases of seas and mountains being called Kami (deity). It is not their spirits which are meant. The word was applied directly to the seas or mountains themselves as being very awful things" (Motoori's E. R. A. M., vol. iii., p. 7) . . . . . Furthermore, Aston adds: "Motoori declares explicitly that when a sea or a mountain is called Kami, it is not the spirit of the sea or mountain which is meant, but the sea or mountain itself. A poet of the Man-yo-shiu says of Fujiyama :—

'Of Yamato, the land of sun-rise,
It is the peace-given, it is the god,
It is the treasure.'

Even Motoori says that it is the actual sun in Heaven which we worship as *Amaterasu-O-mi-kami* (the Heaven-shining-great-august-deity) . . (*ibid.* pp. 9, 17, 24). This is

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perhaps one of the primitive phases of the evolution of religion, and indeed this may be a beginning of religion. After some lapses of time the knowledge of those peoples increases, until each of them conceived of and paid homage to a Heavenly Father who presides over the visible Heaven which was previously a divinity itself. In this second phase of religious development, the Hindu-Aryans called the heaven *Dyaush-pitō*, the Greeks *Zeus pater*, and the Romans *Jupiter*. This higher stage of naturism I denominate the complex, or secondary, nature-worship. It is clear that the Israelite God *Jahveh*, the feller or shudderer in storms and lightnings on Mount Sinai, is a deity in the second stage of development. It is a complex nature-worship.*

The religious development of ancient Babylonia from the Heavenly God *Ana* to *Anu* gives us an actual and appropriate example of the transition from the simple nature-worship to the complex. The Babylonian heaven god *Ana*, which means "Exalted One", is nothing but the personification of the actually visible high heaven itself; so that this *Ana* is a good specimen of the religious stage of simple nature-worship. Besides *Ana* we have *Anu* in the Babylonian pantheon, which means "Hidden One", i.e. the "Invisible God", presiding over the visible heaven. This invisible god *Anu* is clearly a heavenly master whom no naked eye can ever perceive. Still, its existence in heaven is real as the visible *Ana*. It is certain that both "*Ana*" and "*Anu*" are of the same origin with the Babylonian word "*an*" which signifies heaven. So the worship of *Ana* is a simple nature-worship, while that of *Anu* belongs to the region of the complex.†

The nature of the Babylonian god *Anu* is comparatively universalistic from the earliest times, according to Professor M. Jastrow. He speaks of *Anu* as follows:—

"*Anu* is practically freed from local associations, and is viewed as a god for the gods rather than for men—a deity who exercises a general supervision over all the gods. . . .

* Exod. xix., 16-18.
Judg. v., 4, 5.
Ps. xviii., xxix., 3.

† *Vide* D'Alviella's *Conception of God* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 126.

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He is the lofty god, and it is significant that as early as the days of Hammurabi (circa 2500 B.C.) he is in fact designated simply *ilu* " (M. Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia*, in Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 540).

Jastrow's description of *Anu* reminds us of our A.M.N.K. It is true, of course, *Anu* was born from parents called *Anshar* (=Heavenly totality, or universe) and *Kishar* (=Earthly totality, or universe), while A.M.N.K. is self-born from eternity. Nevertheless, one cannot deny that there is a certain close resemblance between these two deities. First, both are heavenly gods; second, both are lofty and supreme (transcendent); third, both are freed from local associations, in short, comparatively universalistic.

Two more examples may be added: the Indian *Aditi*, and the Finnish *Ukko*. Both deities are comparatively supreme beings in their respective pantheons, and their position is aloof from that of the ordinary gods and goddesses in these pantheons. True, the Indian *magna mater*, *Aditi*, may be of later origin than her two sons, *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, as Professor Hopkins* thinks; but the goddess is by no means of a speculative invention, as the learned Max Müller declared in refutation of such an opinion. He made use of it as an illustration of his theory of the origin of religion as derived from the " Apprehension of the Infinite ". Originally, *Varuṇa*, the Greek *ouranos*, must have been the visible all-embracing sky itself and *Mitra* the very actual sun. This is, in fact, a simple nature-worship, as above explained; and it is probable that the Hindu-Aryans advanced thence by degrees to the second stage of religious development, i.e., the complex nature-worship, and worshipped the god *Varuṇa* apart from the visible sky, and the god *Mitra* as distinct from the actual sun. Just at this stage of religious ideas the Hindu-Aryans probably worshipped the rather abstract deity *Aditi*. Unless my hypothesis be erroneous, it is obvious that *Aditi* is a goddess in the complex nature-worship stage. Professor Max Müller speaks thus of *Aditi*: " *Aditi*, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of

* Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, p. 73.

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a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky" (Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v., p. 37).

Ukko, the heavenly god of the Finns, is probably more primitive than *Aditi*. See how Professor Tiele describes him in his book:—"High above all the other spirits, however, stands *Ukko* (the old man, father, grandfather, the venerable), the creator (luoya) and deity (yunâla) *par excellence*, the ancient one in heaven, mightier than the mightiest enchanter, whose aid is invoked by all heroes and spirits. Only one step remained for the Finns to take in order to rise from polydaemonism to polytheism . . . The ethical element is almost entirely deficient. Even in the representation of *Ukko* I have not succeeded in discovering it" (Tiele, *Outlines of the History of the Ancient Religions*, pp. 23, 24).

This description of *Ukko* at once sheds light on A.M.N.K., the Deity *par excellence* in the Japanese pantheon, and it can not but lead us to conclude that our A.M.N.K. probably stands on the same level of religious development with *Ukko* or *Aditi*.

From this little digression let us come back once more to A.M.N.K., the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. From the etymology and contexts of the *Kojiki*, we can easily see that this Deity is a nature-god, or a lord or master of the visible sky, which is known as the Plain of High Heaven, as the primitive Japanese called it. Motoori and Hirata agree, in the main, as to its etymological analysis; although there is some discrepancy between them regarding the minuter points, Hirata being rather a learned rational-minded theologian, while Motoori discards all such scholastic rationalizing tendencies.

According to the view of the above-mentioned two expert and eminent commentators, A.M.N.K., broadly speaking, means the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, precisely as Chamberlain rendered it. In short, as it seems to me, the Deity occupies the same position as the Egyptian *Nutar nutra amtu heret*, or the Almighty Power which is in Heaven.

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[*Vide* Renouf, *Religions of Ancient Egypt* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 103.]

In the meantime, Ikarimaru Watanabe (渡邊巖次郎 巖石丸) in his book entitled, Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami-kō (天御中主神考), maintains the opinion that "*nushi*" is not merely 'master," but "jewel-like master or rather owner", in other words, " precious or noble superior"; and, further, the learned Suzuki advanced another explanation as to the origin of the divine name, although he did not quite reject the view of Motoori and Hirata. For instance, he interprets 天之御中主 to be 天之精成靈主. His A.M.N. (天之精成靈主) means the lord or master of the primordial substance of Heaven, or rather of the Universe; and, still more, and not without reason, he identifies the Fore-ancestor Deity, Amami-musubi-no-kami (天魂神), the Heaven-Producing-Deity, or Heavenly-Producer, with A.M.N.K. (Suzuki's E. C. J., vol. iv., pp. 70, 71). From what is mentioned above we know clearly that the belief in A.M.N.K. of the ancient Japanese represented that second phase or stage of religious development which the recent scientific inquirer would designate as the complex nature-worship. Therefore, Aston rightly speaks of A.M N.K. as follows :—" The sky is not deified in Japan as it is in China. *Ame* is the region where the gods dwell, is not itself god. Possibly, however, we should regard A.M.N.K. (Heaven-August-Center-Master), as a personification of the sky, which has already reached that secondary phase in which the god has become distinct from the natural phenomenon. Some have endeavoured to make of him a sort of Supreme Being. But his cult is recent. Motoori says that he was not worshipped in ancient times " (Aston's *Shinto*, p. 142).

5.—A. M. N. K. COMPARED WITH " ONE DEITY " IN THE CREATION-STORY OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

In the good old creation-story of Egypt we have a deity, whose name is unknown to us, which occupied just such a position as A. M. N. K. Wiedemann describes this deity in his *Religion of Egypt* as follows :—" According to a widely diffused notion, in primeval times the heaven, *Nut* (thought of as a female), reposed in the close embrace of the earth, *Seb* or

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Keh (thought of as a male). Besides the primeval fluid, *Nu*, there existed, according to Egyptian ideas, prior to the creation, *one deity*, who appears sometimes alone as a male god, and at other times falls apart into a male and a female form. This deity calls into existence from *Nu* the world that is to be" (Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 178).

This *one deity* reminds us of our A. M. N. K., but surely I am not going to dream of any historical connection between Egypt and Japan in ancient times on the ground that there is a similar deity in the pantheons of both, as the chauvinistic Hirata and Shinen Sato are apt to do. I think this coincidence is nothing more than a like mode of manifestation of one and the same human nature. As Professor Ladd says, " It is human to be religious."

CHAPTER III.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE IDEAS OF THE DEITY AMONG JAPANESE SAVANTS.

Let us now examine still more closely the course of development of the ideas of Japanese savants regarding the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven. We have already seen how Motoori, Hirata, Suzuki, and Watanabe explained etymologically the name of A. M. N. K. each from his own separate point of view. And what was to be thought of as a mere nature-worship, according to Motoori, the learned Hirata explained more scholastically by the help of his knowledge of Chinese astrology, or even of modern European astronomy; so that, according to his view, A. M. N. K. was identified with the Pole Star, and the visible endless aerial expanse of the sky, called the Plain of High Heaven, was said to be the North Pole.*

A farther step in the speculation is taken by Suzuki, according to whom A. M. N. K. is thought of, not only as a Being or "I am that I am", but as a purely *spiritual* Being. What a lofty conception is this of the deity who was once

* Hirata's E. A. H., vol. i., pp. 4, 5, 11-16, and his "*Tama-no-mihashira*" (靈之眞柱).
O'Neill's *Night of the Gods*, pp. 535, 536.

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simply a master of the visible sky! There is no doubt that this idea is one of later origin among the modern Japanese *literati*, and not the true, real belief of the ancient Japanese. The Johannine Gospel says:—"God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in truth" (4: 23). How sublime a conception of God this is! It was quite foreign to ancient Japan. As for the agriculturist, S. Sato*, he goes so far as to make of the deity the First Principle in his astronomical doctrine. And, besides, he identifies it with the Egyptian Creator-god, *Chnuphis* or *Chnum* (*Kneph*), in accordance with the view of Hirata and Suzuki.†

Last, Watanabe's‡ chauvinism led him even to attempt to expel the Christian God from the native soil of Japan, substituting for it our A. M. N. K., the idea of which was much remodelled and spiritualized by the author's erudition. By thus restoring the ancient inborn monotheistic deity of the land as well as reforming the idea of it, Watanabe tried to satisfy the need of the religious spirit of the times following the Restoration in 1868.

I by no means blame Suzuki, Watanabe, and S. Sato for their theologico-speculative attempts to advance the position of the Deity-Master to monotheism in its true sense, which, as we have seen, took place with the sublime idea of the Israelitish Prophets, or in the Zoroastrian religion, or the religion of Jesus. Far from it. I take this as an expression of the necessary consequence of religious development in Japan in accordance with a tendency everywhere operative throughout the world of mankind. It was once so in Israel, in Egypt, in Babylonia, in India, in Iran and in Greece in ancient times; and it must have been the same also in Japan in the corresponding stage of religious development. With regard to this point, we confess that modern Shintoism owes much to the genius of the above-mentioned scholars; but at the same time it must be borne in mind that the monotheistic spiritualization of the Deity-Master is a speculation of those learned *literati*, and was not the actual belief of the simple-minded folk in the old days of Japan.

* Sato's "*Yozo-ka-iku-ron*" (鎔造化育論) and "*Ten-chu-ki*" (天柱記).
† E. C. J., vol. iii., p. 17.
‡ Watanabe's "*Shin-tenshu-kyo-setsu-ryaku*" (眞天主教說略).

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CHAPTER IV.

A FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE DEITY, AND THE CONCLUSION.

1.—THE PERSIAN "ZERVANEM AKARANEM" AND THE AME-YUZURU-HI-AMENO-SAGIRI-KUNI-YUZURU-TSUKI-KUNINO-SAGIRI-NO-MIKOTO COMPARED WITH A.M.N.K. A TENTATIVE HYPOTHESIS ADVANCED.

At this point in our investigation another hypothesis may naturally be brought forward in explanation of A. M. N. K. What is this new hypothesis? The reader who is acquainted with the religious history of Persia will have noticed that in the period of the Sasanian Dynasty, after the Christian Era, Zoroastrian theologians introduced a unifying principle called *Zervanem Akaranem**, which is nothing more nor less than a personification of endless time, and thus tried to unify the two opposite principles, *Ahura-Mazda* (the Good Spirit) and *Ahriman* (the Evil Spirit) by means of a third and higher principle.

Here the question arises: is not A.M.N. K. a *Zervanem Akaranem?* I reply to this question emphatically, No! It is probable that the Deity called *Ame-yuzuru-hi-ameno-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-tsuki-kunino-sagirino-mikoto* (天譲日天狭霧國譲月國狭霧尊) in the *Sen-dai-kuji-hon-gi* (先代舊事本紀), or Chronicles of the Old Matters of Former Ages, is nothing but the Persian *Zervanem Akaranem*. But the case of A. M. N. K. is, I think, quite different. Most of the *Sen-dai-ku-ji-hon-gi* is of later origin. And what is meant by Ame-yuzuru-hi-ameno-sagiri-kuni-yuzuru-tsuki-kuni-no-sagiri-no-mikoto? Let us think about this! The name of this one deity is simply an artificial compositum of the words *ame* (heaven), *kuni* (land), *hi* (the sun), *tsuki* (the moon) and *kiri* (fog or mist). The reader will readily call to mind (from the *Kojiki*) *Ama-terasu-omi-kami* (the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity), *Tsuki-yomi-no-kami* (the Moon-Hades or Moon-Darkness), and *Ameno-sagiri* (Heavenly Pass-Boundary, as Chamberlain put it).†

* D'Alviella's *Conception of God* (*Hibbert Lectures*), p. 226.

† "*Kojiki*," T.A.S.J., vol. i., sec. 6, pp. 29, 40. Also, Aston's "*Nihongi*," vol. i., p. 7.

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It is stated that these deities of the *Kojiki* are all the offspring of Izanagi (the Male-Who-Invites) and Izanami (the Female-Who-Invites); but, from the analysis we have here given, it is quite clear that that god is rather a result of later theological speculation.

There are some who hold the opinion that the original home of the Deity will have been China, where the Supreme Heaven God, *Shangti*, was worshipped in remote antiquity, and the name of the Deity called A. M. N. K. naturally hints at the idea that the Deity may have been imported from China from time immemorial. This hypothesis, *prima facie*, might be true, but there is neither solid ground for the argument nor any historical fact convincingly supporting this view; on the contrary, it is, in my opinion, nothing more nor less than a mere conjecture originating from an accidental similarity in the names of the gods and notwithstanding certain differences in their respective characteristics. Therefore this hypothesis cannot be accepted. It is true that in the *Nihonkoki* (a Japanese history) we are told that the authorities concerned at that time (A. D. 801) prohibited Chinese and Korean sojourners in Japan from announcing themselves to be descendants of A. M. N. K., for the reason that the deity was already counted a forefather of the Japanese. This historical fact is here mentioned, but seems to me to give no positive proof of the Chinese origin of the Deity; on the contrary, some Japanese scholars even take the fact as proving that the Deity is of genuine Japanese origin.

2.—THE SHINTO, OR WAY OF THE GODS OF THE GEKU SCHOOL (外宮派) AND THE MYTHOLOGICAL CAGN AND PULUGA.

On the contrary, however, we do not find any trace of such an artifice in connection with A.M.N.K.; none of the acute-minded commentators made any such remarks. So I must discard as illegitimate the above-mentioned tentative hypothesis. Hence the result that the foregoing researches naturally lead to the conclusion that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is not an artificially contrived *theologumenon*, but a natural outcome of the ancient Japanese thought. Putting aside the fraudulent half-pious and half-political contrivance of the Gekuha-Shintoists, or

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the Geku-school, which identified A.M.N.K. either with Toyoke-daijin (豐受大神), otherwise called the Deity-Princess-of-Great-Food, or O-ge-tsu-himeno-kami who is enshrined in the Geku, or Outer Temple, in contradistinction to Ama-terasu-o-mi-kami, or the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity of the Naiku, or Inner Temple, or with Kuni-no-Toko-tachi-no-kami, the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity who is considered as the first and mightiest god in C. J., the identification of A.M.N.K. with those other and minor deities is, in my view, nothing but a mythologizing of the *comparatively* lofty transcendent Deity A.M.N.K. It seems to me that it was solely with the aid of this mythological garment, that the uneducated minds of the ancient Japanese were enabled to comprehend such a Supreme Being as A.M.N.K., just as the Bushman Supreme God, *Cagn*, is only grasped by the uncivilized and undisciplined native mind of to-day under his mythical representation as an insect, or as the Andamanese *Puluga*, the invisible immortal God, is grasped by the simple-minded native worshipper in his mythical disguise, or, in other words, by means of the idea that *Puluga* lives in a large stone house, eating and drinking like a man, and is married to a green shrimp (*Vide* Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 195). In saying this, however, I do not mean that the ancient Japanese were on the same level of culture as the Bushmen and Andamanese of to-day. Far from that, the culture of the former was higher than that of the latter two beyond all doubt. Who can dispute it? Nevertheless, I compare them here from a religious point of view, simply because there are some resemblances, as above mentioned, in their way of religious thinking with regard to their respective supreme beings.

In order to facilitate the reader's understanding of this point, I will add the following quotation from Prof. Pratt's *Psychology of Religious Belief*. He says:—"The heathen armed with his fetich feels strong. He believes in it; has faith that it will help him. He can see it and feel it. He goes on his errand inspired with confidence of success . . . The Christian convert is weak in his faith. He would like something tangible. He is not sure that he will succeed in his errand. He

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goes at it somewhat half-hearted and probably he fails. . . The weak ask the missionary whether they may not be allowed to carry a fetich only for show. A friend of mine living in Guatemala informs me that the Catholic missionaries who converted the natives to Christianity have allowed them to retain their fetiches, with the simple substitution of the name of some saint for that of the original god or spirit" (Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, p. 50).

3.—A TRACE OF THE SO-CALLED PRIMITIVE MONOTHEISM IN A.M.N.K.

From what has been said above, it is natural and safest to say that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven is a manifestation of the so-called primitive monotheism. The reason is as follows:—

(1) The idea of the Deity is comparatively lofty and supreme above that of the other gods; and

(2) It therefore has a deistic tendency, i.e., its worship is, in remote times, neglected, or displaced by that of the other minor deities, just as the Huron Supreme God, *Ahone*, has a deputy god, called *Okeus*, and as the supreme deity *Nyankupon* is thrust into the shade, while the deity *Bobowissi* takes his place, devoutly worshipped by priests and served with sacrifices.*

N.B.—As we have already seen, the identification of A.M.N.K. with the other inferior deities is nothing but a process of mythologizing the comparatively supreme incomprehensible deity, whereby alone the deistic and comparatively transcendent god can be, and is, made comprehensible to the minds of the ancient Japanese, who were incapable, relatively speaking, of grasping conceptions in the abstract. The Bushman god *Cagn* appears in two aspects: one, that of his supreme and monotheistic nature, the other, the mythological, and the same is true of the Andamanese god *Puluga* (A. Lang's *Making of Religion*, pp. 193, 195)

(3) We do not find any trace in A.M.N.K. of later inventions made by speculative minds.

(4) On the contrary, the idea of the Deity is rather monotheistic in origin, so that later theologians made use of this latent primitive monotheistic idea in Ameno-minaka-nushi-no-kami and went on to create out of it, on a grander scale, a pure spiritualistic monotheism, to which we very often see references made in the lofty monotheistic language of the religion

* A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, pp. 225, 227.

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of ancient Egypt. This fact shows *indirectly* that the idea of the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven was perhaps monotheistic from the beginning.

(5) A comparative study of religion sheds a favorable light on this view.

Let us illustrate the point by comparing A. M. N.K. with other deities in primitive monotheism, found among different races still in the lower culture. We can not, indeed, forbear noticing the remarkable, though accidental, resemblance between our Deity-Master and the monotheistic deities of different low races.

In his *Making of Religion* A. Lang gives us a great many examples of primitive monotheism among the low races of the earth. He describes the Australian supreme deity, *Darumulun*, as follows: "*Darumulun* watched the youths from the sky . . . At the mysteries *Darumulun*'s real name may be uttered, at other times he is 'master' (*Biamba*), or 'father' (*Papung*), exactly as we say '*Lord*' and '*Father*.' A representation is made of the master, *Biamban*, and to make such idols, except at the mysteries, is forbidden 'under pain of death'" (pp. 178,179). He traces primitive monotheism in the Australian *Kurnai*: "Long ago there was a great Being, Mungan-ngaur (mungan= father, ngaur= our), who lived on the earth. His son, *Tundun*, is direct ancestor of the *Kurnai* . . *Mungan* . . ascended to the sky, where he still remains. . A Being not defined as spirit, but immortal, and dwelling in heaven, is Father, or rather grandfather, not maker, of the Kurnai" (p. 181). Further he stated concerning the Andamanese *Puluga*: "Their god, *Puluga*, is 'like fire,' but invisible. He was never born, and is immortal. By him were all things created, except the powers of evil. He knows even the thoughts of the heart" (p. 195). "The Dinkas of the Upper Nile . . . pay a very theoretical kind of homage to the all-powerful Being, dwelling in heaven, whence he sees all things. He is called '*Dendid*' (great rain, i.e., universal benediction?). He is omnipotent, but, being all beneficence, can do no evil; so, not being feared, he is not addressed in prayer." Of a supreme deity, *Nyankupon*, whose idea was widely diffused in West African belief,

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Lang says: "He lives in no definite home or hill, but in '*Nyankupon's* country.' *Nyankupon*, at the present day, is ignored rather than worshipped, while *Bobowissi* has priests and offerings. . . . *Nyankupon* has no pretensions to be, or to have been, a spirit" (pp. 227, 228). He describes the Polynesian supreme being, *Taa-roa*, in the same manner: "*Taa-roa* uncreated, existing from the beginning, or from the time he emerges from the *po*, or world of darkness. . . . fatherless and motherless from all eternity. In the highest heavens he dwells alone. He created the gods of polytheism, the gods of war, peace, and so on. Says a native hymn, 'He was: he abode in the void. No earth, no sky, no men! He became the universe'" (p. 251). So also Professor Kuenen speaks of the Mohammedan *Allah* as follows, tracing it back to its monotheistic origin. "The recognition of *Allah taala*, the one supremely exalted God, is supposed to lie at the basis of Arabian polytheism" (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 13).*

Here, it may be well to recall Renouff's celebrated passages concerning the monotheistic manifestation of a Power or *Nutar nutra*:—"*Horus* and *Ra* and *Osiris* and *Seb* are names of individual finite powers, but a Power without a name or any mythological characteristics is constantly referred to in the singular number, and can only be regarded as the object of that *sensus numinis*, or immediate perception of the Infinite, which, like my learned predecessor, Professor Max Müller, I consider, not the result of reasoning or generalizing, but an intuition as irresistible as the impressions of our senses." [Renouf's *Religion of Ancient Egypt*" (*Hibbert Lectures*), pp. 103, 104.] Further, "That Power which the Egyptians recognized without any mythological adjunct, to whom no temple was ever raised, who was not graven in stone, whose

* Schaarschmidt says: „Es nicht an Spuren einer Hinneigung des arabischen Geistes zum Monotheismus fehlt. Freilich waren die alten Araber, ... Götzendiener, allein sie waren dabei dennoch nicht eigentlich polytheistisch gesinnt, sondern geneigt, das Göttliche, dem sie als solchem den Namen Allah d.h. eben Gott schlechthin gaben, neben der . . . . . Gottheiten als Einheit zu fassen, etwa wie die Griechen von einem *Theion*, die Römer vom *Numen divinum* sprachen. Allah ist also zunächst kein Eigenname, sondern hat einen viel allgemeineren Character" (*Die Religion*, St. 191, 192).

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shrine was never found with painted figures, who had neither ministrants nor offerings and whose abode was unknown, must practically have been forgotten by the worshippers at the magnificent temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, Abydos, Thebes or Dendera, where quite other deities received the homage of prayer and praise and sacrifice" (*ibid.* p. 262.). We might add hundreds of other examples, but these will suffice for our present purpose. . . . .

If, therefore, the thoughtful reader will compare by himself the above-mentioned primaeval monotheistic phases of religion, as found among different nature-peoples, with the ideas on A. M. N. K. in the *Kojiki*, he will perhaps be able to agree with my conclusion, that the Deity-Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven shows in its origin a clear trace of primitive monotheism, when viewed in the light of the modern study of the science of religion.

At the close of the reading, the CHAIRMAN thanked Prof. KATO for his learned and interesting paper, which was well worth careful study. In answer to Rev. C. H. SHORTT, who inquired if there was any shrine in Japan dedicated to that deity, Prof. KATO replied that he thought there was *no authentic one at least*.

Mr. LLOYD wished to emphasize the Chairman's words of thanks to Prof. Kato. It had given him much pleasure to think the old idea was now exploded that Japan was a nation all by herself, whose history and development had nothing to do with that of any other nation. He was glad to find the Lecturer emphasizing the fact that the Shinto system of Japan had been developed along lines quite analogous to the lines of development in other countries. It was also interesting to follow Mr. Kato as he led his hearers back through the stages of natural religion, through "Secondary Nature-worship," to the more primitive and primary forms, and to find that when we came to primary nature-worship in any country, we found behind all mythologies and developments one universally recognized, though vaguely conceived, spiritual* Being, dimly worshipped by primitive peoples. This he conceived to be the chief value of Mr. Kato's paper. He congratulated Mr. Kato on it, and hoped he would go on studying *Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no kami*.

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* The author of the paper would substitute *supreme* or *great* for spiritual in this connection.

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TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Vol. XXXVI. Part II

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JAPANESE FEUDAL LAWS:

II.—THE ASHIKAGA CODE

("KEMMU SHIKIMOKU"—A.D. 1336)

BY

J. C. HALL, Esq.

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The Asiatic Society of Japan.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Room, No. 1. Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, May 20th. In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President for Tokyo, the Corresponding Secretary, Rev. T. M. MacNair, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

The Recording Secretary announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Jas. Hazen Hyde, Esq., Tokyo; J. R. Kennedy, Esq., Tokyo; Howard May, Esq., Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Yokohama; J. Gasco, Esq., Italian Legation, Tokyo; Dr. M. W. de Visser, Dutch Legation, Tokyo; Dr. Rachel Read, Tokyo; Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Tokyo, and Dr. Paravicini, 64 Bluff, Yokohama.

The Recording Secretary also announced that Prof. B. H. Chamberlain had been unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society (applause); and that Rev. E. R. Miller, of Tokyo, had been elected a Member of the Council to fill a vacancy and to be Acting Librarian during Prof. Lloyd's absence abroad.

The Recording Secretary further read the following communication from the Corresponding Secretary:—

Some time ago it was reported that, in the fire which occurred in the building occupied by the Fukuin Printing Company of Yokohama, valuable manuscripts belonging to the Society had been destroyed. The Council was expressly so informed at the time: and though regret was expressed, amounting to censure of the management of the establishment that the Society's property should not have been kept safeguarded against the possibility of such a loss, no further information on the subject was received. The consequence was that, after waiting for a considerable time for the Fukuin Printing Company to get on its feet again and resume the work of printing with such duplicate manuscript material as might be available for the purpose, the Council made other arrangements and are now nearly ready to issue Part 2 of Vol. XXXV. This will contain, along with some new material, abstracts of the papers on Buddhism which had been read before the Society by Profs. Anesaki and Lloyd, and which were reported lost in the fire. It has now transpired, however, that the supposed loss was not a real one, and that the entire manuscript of Dr. Anesaki's paper on "The Four Āgamas in Chinese" was in the Printing Company's safe at the time of the fire, and with it were the O.K. proof sheets of Prof. Lloyd's four lectures on "The Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism." Moreover, the "shells" of the Lloyd lectures, as well as those of a paper, nearly completed, on "The *Makura Kotoba* of Primitive Japanese Verse" by F. V. Dickins, Esq., of London, had been safeguarded in the same way.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary read the following communication about new books, etc.:—

In addition to the usual Transactions from kindred Societies, we have received one or two special gifts which deserve especial commemoration.

From Professor Frederick Starr, of Chicago, a *Catalogue of the Bulkley Collection of Shinto Objects*, and a *Reproduction of a Lolo MSS.* The Lolo MSS.," says Mr. Starr, "is an exact reproduction of one lately come into my possession. On account of the exceptional interest attaching to the Lolos, one of the little-known aboriginal peoples of China, and to their peculiar system of writing, I have had the MSS. accurately reproduced. Only fifty copies have been printed and they will not be placed upon the market.

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They are intended to be used in a study of the Lolo system which I hope presently to publish."

Royaku Kanwa Jiten, is a new Japanese-Russian Dictionary recently published by one of our members, Prof. Posdneeff, already well known for his useful labours in making the Japanese language practically accessible to his Russian fellow-countrymen. Mons. Posdneeff bases all his linguistic work, which is eminently of a practical nature, on the Japanese *Tokuhon*, published by the authority of the Japanese Educational Department. Of these he has already published several adapted for use by Russians and is contemplating the publication of them all; so that when the Russian student of Japanese, who follows his course, has finished the whole set, he will be in exactly the same position, as far as theoretical knowledge goes, as the Japanese boy who has finished the ordinary school course, and thus be well equipped for those further advances into special departments of the language which the necessities of life and study make advisable.

The same thought underlies the Dictionary which has just appeared. It is based on the list of characters recommended by the Educational Authorities, with certain necessary additions. The whole number of characters given is 4,200, which, with combinations, yield about thirty thousand words. The words are arranged not alphabetically, but according to radicals and numbers of strokes, there being in each case a Romaji transliteration of the Japanese sound. One of the special features of the Dictionary is the inclusion of a large number of names of families and places, which is quite useful. The introductory chapters deal very fully with the system of writing,—ideographs, *Kana* and *Romaji*—, and the Appendices are very full. There are indexes of characters, according to radicals and according to sounds, lists of names of provinces, prefectures, prefectural cities, railway stations in Japan, Formosa and Korea, streets and wards in Tokyo, lists of newspapers published in 1907, holidays and festivals, and very full tables of weights and measures.

In a letter from Herr von Wenckstern, of Kumamoto, received a few days ago, there is a sentence which may be of interest to some:—

"In case you or other members of the Asiatic Society should have copies of Vol. I. of my Japanese Bibliography (if in a condition as good as new), I am willing to exchange them against copies of Vol. II. issued last year. . . Vol. I. has now only historical interest, while Vol. II. contains chapters on law, economics, industries, &c., of practical value for merchants, manufacturers, statesmen, &c." Herr von Wenckstern's address is 79, Kita Sendambata-cho, Kumamoto, Kyushu.

The Society then unanimously passed the proposed amendments to Art. VI. of the Constitution, so that it will read as follows:

ART. VI.

Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five yen and subscription for the current year. They shall pay an annual subscription of Five yen.

Any member elected after June 30th shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Ordinary members may become life members:

(a) On election, by paying the entrance fee and the sum of sixty yen;

(b) Any time afterwards within a period of twenty-five years, by paying the sum of sixty yen, less yen 2.50 for each year of membership;

After the expiration of twenty-five years, on application to the Treasurer, without further payment.

The Chairman called on Mr. John Carey Hall, H.B.M.'s Consul-General at Yokohama, to read his paper "Japanese Feudal Laws: the Ashikaga Code, A.D. 1336 (*Kemmu Shikimoku*)."

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JAPANESE FEUDAL LAWS:

II.—THE ASHIKAGA CODE.

("KEMMU SHIKIMOKU"—A.D. 1336)

THE so-called Code of the *Kemmu* year-term (1334-1338) is a short instrument of 17 articles, which was promulgated at the end of the year 1336 of our era by Ashikaga Takauji, the founder of the second dynasty of Shoguns. Its connection with the first feudal code,* that of the Hojo *Shikken* or Power-holders, published 104 years previously, is not merely implied; it is explicitly avowed in the document itself; but the nature of this connection cannot be fully understood without a glance at the history of Japan during the interval and an account of the events which led up to the promulgation of this second code.

The political and juridical arrangements embodied in the Hojo code and the new laws enacted by it gave to the Japanese nation nearly a century of the best government it had ever known. Law and order reigned within the four seas. The taxes were lightened and impartially assessed. Justice was dispensed promptly and cheaply; the administrative conduct of the provincial officials was vigilantly supervised; and the one serious foreign danger that ever menaced the nation's independence—invasion by the hordes of Kublai Khan—was successfully repelled. But, withal, the political equilibrium was unstable; for the national organism was a monstrosity, having two heads. There was a sovereign *de jure* at Kyōto, whose right to govern was the cardinal doctrine of the national religion, and who, even in the darkest hours of the dynasty's fortunes, never ceased to be the sole fountain of honour; there was likewise a ruler *de facto* at Kamakura, whose title to govern rested on the double ground of victory over the sovereign in a stand-up fight for the prize of power,

* A translation of the Hojo Code is given in vol. xxxiv. of the Society's Transactions.

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and of proved competence through several generations for the work of governing.

The political balance between these two heads—the nominal and the real head—was maintained so long as the Kamakura dictatorship was held by capable men. But no single family can furnish a succession of such men for many generations together. The seventh or, as otherwise reckoned, the ninth and last of the Hojo Power-holders, Takatoki, who, in the year 1316, at the age of 13, assumed the duties of his office, was a weakling. He deputed his task to an unworthy subordinate, whilst he amused himself with dog-fights, drinking bouts and dancing girls. This was an opportunity not likely to be neglected by the Imperial Court at Kyoto, ever wishful to regain its lost sway. The failure of public virtue in the line of the Hojo proved as strong a temptation to the reigning Emperor as the failure of heirs in the Minamoto line had been to his predecessor a century before. A further incentive to action was soon furnished, when it became apparent that the Hojo High Court of Jnstice, so long illustrious for its purity, was now open to bribes; and consequently land disputes in the provinces began to be put to the arbitrament of the sword.

The Emperor Go Daigo (1319—1339) now sent secret emissaries to Kamakura to intrigue, and, when they were discovered, had to disavow them and protest his innocence, under pain of being deposed. This was in 1325; and in the following years the rift in the lute was widened by a contest over the question of nominating the future successor to the enfeebled throne. Go-Daigo wished his own son to be acknowledged as Heir Apparent in accordance with a previous political arrangement; Hojo Takatoki objected, and proposed a son of one of the preceding Emperors, Go-Fushimi. This latter, after occupying the throne as a boy for nearly three years, had abdicated in his thirteenth year, and was now in the prime of life and strongly desirous of securing the succession for his own son. It was this dispute over the Imperial titular succession which occasioned the downfall of the feudal oligarchy at Kamakura and the destruction of the Hojo clan.

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The Emperor Go-Daigo was a man of considerable tenacity of purpose. He had two ends in view, to overthrow the domination of the military power in the Kwanto, and to keep the succession to the throne in his own family. The first was a formidable enterprise; for he had no military force, and no party amongst the feudal nobility. But he had potential sources of support in the religious feelings and political instinct of his people, and in the sympathy of the wealthy Buddhist church. The great monasteries of Hiyei San had estates and tenants all over the country from which troops could be raised, to say nothing of the fighting monks themselves, whose predecessors had so often effectively intervened to settle disputes in the Imperial household. He therefore, in his capacity as head of the national religion, appointed his son Prince Morinaga to be Chief Abbot of the Tendai sect and began afresh to weave a secret plot.

The Rokuhara Lieutenancy of the Hojo power was not long in finding out what was going on, and reported fully to Kamakura. Takatoki promptly sent a force to arrest the Emperor, who fled for refuge to a mountain fastness in the neighbourhood. His deposition was pronounced at once, and the Hojo candidate raised to the throne. Then troops were sent to capture Go-Daigo; and, after a short imprisonment at Rokuhara, he was sent into exile on a small island off the west coast, opposite the province of Hoki. Thus in the second of the two great struggles between the Imperial family and the Hojo usurpers, the latter had again apparently carried off the victory. But their triumph was of short duration.

When the second Hojo Power-holder, Yoshitoki, after defeating the similar attempt of the Court to regain its lost power 110 years before, had deposed the occupant of the throne and had sent no less than three ex-Emperors into exile, no serious movement was organized in their defence. But now, when that example was followed by his degenerate successor on a much smaller scale, public indignation was at once aroused. For the Hojo's peaceful sway had insensibly fostered national development, material, intellectual and moral. There was now a wider public opinion; and we may safely assume

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that this nascent power was very naturally in favour of the idea that the Sovereign line should now resume its ancient rights; that the political unity of the nation should be re-established; that the Emperor himself should govern as well as reign. Consequently, when Go-Daigo, after a year or more of exile, made his escape from his island and reached the mainland, adherents flocked to his support. A force sent from Kamakura to re-arrest him in Hoki signally failed, and he set out under a resolute escort to re-enter his capital. His two chief supporters were Kusunoki Masashige and Nawa Nagatoshi, both minor barons.

Great was the consternation at Kamakura when this news was brought. A large force was promptly despatched, to occupy the capital, under the command of Ashikaga Takauji. This is one of the best-known names in Japanese history. A descendant of the Minamoto stock, he was connected through his mother with the Hojo, and therefore seemed to be a most suitable man to be entrusted with the defence of the predominance which his ancestors had built up. Yet when he reached Kyoto, so far from holding it against the Imperialists, he went over with his whole force to the Emperor's side. Meanwhile, soon after the Kamakura stronghold had been thus denuded of its defenders, and many of its adherents had deserted, it was swooped down upon by Nitta Yoshitada, was speedily carried by assault, sacked and occupied, and the whole of the Hojo family, with their relatives and chief retainers, to the number of nearly 300, committed *harakiri*, only one son of Takatoki succeeding in making his escape.

The Emperor re-entered Kyoto on the 20th July, 1333, and the three and a half years which elapsed between that event and the proclamation of the Ashikaga code was a time of storm and stress. It is known to Japanese historians as the *Chuko* episode, i.e. the temporary re-emergence of the autocracy. Only a bare summary of the chief events of this revolutionary crisis can here be given. The remaining months of the year were occupied with the measures necessary for suppressing various local risings on behalf of the Kamakura party and securing the new central hold on the more distant parts of the

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empire. Their former ranks and offices were promptly restored to the Kuge courtiers who had shared in the Sovereign's misfortune. The exiled sons of the Emperor soon returned also, along with the Barons and Buddhist clergy who had been faithful to them; and Prince Morinaga, the ablest of the Princes, was appointed to the office of Sei-i Tai Shogun. In other words, he was made viceroy of the eastern half of Japan.

Early next year Ashikaga Tadayoshi, younger brother of Takauji, was sent to govern at Kamakura as *Shikken* or Power-holder to another boy prince, aged 11, sent to reside there as Shogun only; and a large new palace was built in Kyoto to replace the one that had been burnt down a century and a half before in the civil wars between the Taira and Minamoto houses. The provinces of Aki and Suwo were (that is, the taxes thereof) assigned by the Emperor to himself for his civil list; and at the same time a benevolence of one-twentieth of their incomes was levied upon all the land-reeves and the feudatories of the former Kamakura overlords throughout the empire. But risings in favour of the late régime now occurred in Kiushiu, Shikoku and even in Kawachi, Kusunoki Masashige's own province. These were all successfully stamped out, however, by various commanders; and the highly important function of distributing the rewards for military merits and services could now no longer be deferred.

It was a palpable public injustice as regards the performance of this function, some two centuries before, which had, like the working of Nemesis in a Greek trilogy, brought upon successive generations of the Imperial house bitter humiliation and trouble. In the latter half of the eleventh century the Minamoto clan, in a series of hard-fought campaigns, had suppressed a formidable focus of rebellion and reduced the north-eastern section of Japan to political subjection to the Imperial sway. But the generals had been obliged to begin the war promptly, and, once begun, to carry it through, without losing time in waiting for the issuance of the Imperial Commission formally required to legalize the war as an act of State. When the work was finished and the Minamoto

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general, the famous Yori-yoshi, petitioned the Court on behalf of his forces for their well-earned rewards, his application was rejected on the technical excuse that no Imperial Commission having been issued, "the war was only a private quarrel." The Court had to pay dearly for this injustice. It was a lineal descendant of that injured general who, a century later, was commissioned by the Imperial House to deliver it from the tyranny of its Taira viziers; and, when Minamoto Yoritomo had finished the work, he took his own reward without the formality of a petition. He kept the eight provinces of the Kwanto for his own share of the realm, adding others afterwards; and he exacted his military tax from every province of the Empire, appointing, moreover, his own collectors. It was to this position that the Hojo had obtained the succession; and now that it had been wrested from them and the Sovereign had come to his own again, it was to be expected that the stern lesson as to the consequences of public injustice would surely not have been lost upon him and his courtiers, the *Kuge* or Ducal families, from whom his Ministers were drawn.

The three great generals, Ashikaga Takauji, Nitta Yoshisada, and Kusunoki Masashige being all descended from the offspring of previous Emperors, were of course rewarded first. Takauji was given the three finest provinces of the Kwanto, Nitta received two provinces, and his son and his younger brother a province each; Kusunoki two provinces, and Nawa, the noble who had sheltered and protected the Emperor when he escaped from exile, also received two provinces. The business of determining the rewards was conducted in this wise. A Fujiwara courtier was intrusted with the work of making enquiry into merits and recommending the rewards. He knew little or nothing about military affairs and was greedy of bribes. The Emperor paid little attention to his reports and recommendations. The really deserving warriors neither offered bribes nor truckled to back-stairs influence: the claimants for rewards swarmed in myriads and made interest through the ladies-in-waiting and through the intimates of the Sovereign, who was swayed most by the advice of the Empress; and she in turn was largely influenced by a favourite

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dancing girl. After the lapse of several months some twenty odd rewards had been determined, and some others after having been determined and announced had been recalled. The corrupt and incompetent commissioner for rewards was dismissed and another Fujiwara of known probity was appointed in his stead. But there was no cessation of the wire-pulling and intriguing amongst the Empress's personal *entourage*. The second commissioner of enquiry into merit had not the courage to remonstrate, and resigned. Even enemies of the Court now received, through zenana influence, patents of assurance, and as many as five, and even ten, fiefs were granted to men who had not even been loyal. "The Hojo's family estates were shared amongst the Imperial family, and the estates of the Hojo's more distant kinsmen throughout the empire were distributed to geisha and dancers, football players, mimics and buffoons and to officers of the body-guards, to ladies-in-waiting and to bonzes. At last an honest and capable commissioner was nominated, but still claims by courtiers and palace functionaries came into competition with those of the soldiers who had risked their all for the Imperial cause. Tax-free manors and estates were granted lavishly to undeserving intriguers; and by the time it came to rewarding the meritorious officers, there was not, says one chronicler, in all the sixty odd provinces of Japan as much undisposed-of land left as would suffice to stick a carpenter's awl into. This was at the end of 1334, more than a year after the business had been begun, and after three high nobles in succession had been ostensibly charged with the responsibility of it.

In other departments of government work the Emperor's interference and vacillation were no less disastrous. As regards judicature, what better could the new imperial administration do than follow the excellent system established by the Hojo? Accordingly new tribunals were set up at each of the palace gates for the trial of ordinary suits and plaints; whilst affairs of high importance were to be discussed and settled in council at the Record Office (*Kirokusho*). But often the decisions of the tribunals were reversed by orders from the palace, where

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private representations *ex parte* had prevailed; and although the council might discuss affairs of State at the Record Office, it was the Emperor who decided them in a small coterie of his chosen intimates, which went by the name of the Cave (*Kubosho*). During all this time the supreme influence was that of the Empress; and the surest means of access to her was through the favourite dancing girl, who of course had not been forgotten when the distribution of landed estates was going on. Outside of the court circles, Ashikaga Takauji was first favourite. He stood well with the Empress, who disliked Prince Morinaga; and the Emperor fully appreciated the fact that it was to Takauji's defection from the Kamakura interest that he owed his own restoration to power.

Disappointment and disgust at the state of affairs in Kyoto soon found expression. The great highroad between it and Kamakura became blocked with two crowds, one of which was going to the capital filled with hopes now that the rightful sovereign had regained his power; the other crowd returning to Kamakura, disillusioned, and determined to restore the former régime.

In July 1335 a complete change had to be made of the high ministers of State; but no improvement followed. Treason was beginning to be brewed in the capital itself. In August, Prince Morinaga, who had been banished to Kamakura some months before, was murdered there at the behest of Takauji, whom he had from the outset detested and antagonised. Then the only son of the last Hojo Power-holder, who had escaped from the annihilation of his family at Kamakura, now took courage and, with the support of the warriors of six eastern provinces, attacked the place and drove out the imperialist garrison and its commander, Ashikaga Tadayoshi. This was followed by the revolt of three of the northern provinces from the imperialist side; and it could no longer be concealed that the Emperor was fast losing his hold on the loyalty of the nation.

Takauji now sought the Emperor's permission to proceed to Kamakura and retake it from the insurgents. This was refused, and Takauji started, unauthorised, but, as he told the

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Emperor, in the interest of the nation. He quickly recaptured Kamakura, and then proclaimed himself Sei-i Tai-Shogun. Takauji's motives for thus suddenly turning rebel have been elaborately discussed by native historians; some attributing to him crafty ambition; others, disappointed greed; others, revenge for ancestral wrongs; and there are other theories, all more or less unsatisfactory and discreditable. Another and simpler theory will be submitted presently, for what it may be worth.

The flames of civil war raged with redoubled fury after Takauji's revolt. Nitta Yoshisada was commissioned to punish him and marched upon Kamakura. Victorious at first in several engagements on his line of march, he was worsted at Hakone, and the two Ashikaga brothers then marched against the capital. The Emperor, carefully securing possession of the three divine emblems, fled for refuge to the monasteries on Hiyei-san. After much fighting in and about Kyoto the Imperialists were successful, and Takauji retreated to Kyushu. The Emperor then came down from his mountain retreat, and, thinking that all was now safe, sent back some of his defenders to their distant posts in Mutsu and elsewhere.

But the danger was not yet over. When Takauji showed himself in Kyushu the island went over to him *en masse;* and he was soon again in the field, marching up the Sanyodo at the head of a powerful army upon the capital. It was whilst on this march that a significant event occurred which cleared his action from the foul stain of treason. A noble named Akamatsu, who had been treated with exceptional and deliberate injustice by the Emperor two years before, and who had joined Takauji's standard, now advised him to obtain authorization in writing from one of the Imperial family. This was secretly obtained without much difficulty from the ex-Emperor Go-Fushimi; and henceforth the war assumed a new complexion. It was no longer a contest between constituted authority and insurgents, but between two branches of the royal family. The change of status put new heart into Takauji's army, and his assault upon the capital was successful. The Emperor fled a second time to the top of the

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mountain, taking with him the divine insignia. The mountain was promptly stormed by Ashikaga Tadayoshi, and the two ex-Emperors were taken prisoners. Go-Daigo himself took refuge in the great monastery of Enryakuji, and by way of encouraging his supporters there to withstand the siege he issued a patent granting to the monastery the perpetual suzerainty of the province of Omi, in fee simple; also seven Shinto shrines and nine Buddhist temples with their numerous appurtenant estates; and to each of the eight hundred coolies who were to carry the commissariat supplies up to the mountain he granted a village in fee. The monks responded to this liberality by ineffectual attempts to dislodge the enemy or cut off his supplies, and then having rendered actual service in requital of their grant, desisted in despair.

In September Takauji set up a new Emperor in the person of Prince Yuta-hito, a boy of fourteen, younger brother of Ko-gon, the ex-Emperor who had been set up by Hojo Takatoki and who was afterwards deposed by Go-Daigo on the latter's return from exile.

Then followed a game of diamond cut diamond between Takauji and the closely beleaguered Emperor, in which the latter came off only second best. He was caught fast in a military trap; and his schemes were one after another checkmated without resort to violence. In December Takauji directed the Emperor to deliver up the divine emblems to his lately appointed successor. A counterfeit set, of recent manufacture, sword, seal and mirror, were handed over without demur. Takauji was thereupon appointed *Gon Dainagon*, i.e. Acting Chief Councillor of State. He then promulgated the Kemmu Code in 17 articles, and thereby established once more the military régime.

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ARTICLES OF THE KEMMU CODE.

WHETHER THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS SHOULD BE AT KAMAKURA AS HERETOFORE OR AT SOME OTHER PLACE.

In antiquity, both in China and our own country, there have been frequent shiftings and changes in society, more than there is time to enumerate. When we come down to later times, we find affairs become much more complicated and troublesome, so that such transitions were probably not so easy to effect. Especially remarkable as regards local changes is the case of the district of Kamakura, where in the year-term of Bunji (A.D. 1185-1189) His Highness the Right Commander-in-Chief (Yoritomo) for the first time established a Military Office. In the Shokiu year-term (1219-1221), Yoshitoki, in rank a second-class Court noble (*Ason*) swallowed the empire. Must it not be called a lucky place for the Baronial Houses (*Buke*)! Their incomes were ample and their power great. They became, however, luxurious and avaricious, and did not reform accumulated evils; and at last (i.e. in Takatoki's case) brought upon themselves extinction. Even though their seat were to be shifted to somewhere else, if they do not mend their ways and abandon the rut that upset the cart, can there be any doubt that they will totter and be imperilled? Both the Chow and Tsin (Dynasties of China) were within the Yao-Han barrier; yet the Tsin were overthrown in the second generation, whereas the Chow maintained their line 800 years. The Dzui and the Tang dynasties both lived in Changan. The Dzui were overthrown in the second generation, whereas the Tang lasted for 300 years. Therefore the duration of a locality of power must depend on the goodness or badness of the system of government. It is not the badness of the locality but the badness of the men that counts. If any one desires to shift the locality of government, must he not follow the direction of public opinion?

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THE QUESTION OF THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.

As regards this subject, seeing that we have to ponder the circumstances of the time and frame administrative arrangements to suit, we have Japan and China to choose between; and the problem is, which methods of each should we adopt?

On the whole, succeeding as we do to the inheritance of an age in which the Baronial Houses securely flourished shall we, following in their footsteps, dispense good government? If so, we have Senators of ripe experience, the Counsellors of the Hyōjō Shu (Council of Government at Kamakura), and public servants of all grades in abundance. If we make our appeal to the realities of the old Kamakura régime, is there anything in which it can be said to have been wanting? In the ancient (Chinese) Statutes it is said:—"Virtue means exercising good government, and government consists in making the lives of the folk endurable and easy, etc." Shall we promptly put an end to the distress of the myriads and at once issue our authoritative directions to them? The most important points are, in the main, as follows:—

1. Economy must be universally practised.

Under the designation of "*basara*"* (the fashion or *chic*) there prevails a love of eccentricity or originality, figured brocades and embroidered silks, of elaborately mounted swords, and a hunting after fashions, and of everything calculated to strike the eye. The age may almost be said to have become demented. Those who are rich become more and more filled with pride; and the less wealthy are ashamed of not being able to keep up with them. Nothing could be more injurious to the cause of good manners. This must be strictly kept within bounds.

2. Drinking parties and wanton frolics must be suppressed.

It is particularly important that excesses of this nature should be put down. Much more when, through infatuation for their mistresses, men have recourse to gambling. Besides these misdoings, under the pretext of holding tea parties or

* I conjecture that this word is Basra (or Bussorah), the river port where the manufactures of Bagdad were transhipped from river boats into sea-going vessels.—J. C. H.

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under the disguise of poetical competitions, meetings are held for the purpose of laying gambling bets. Is not the waste caused by this course of conduct incalculable?

3. Crimes of violence and outrage must be quelled.

Robberies from houses in the open daylight, armed burglaries, murders and massacres occur frequently, and highway robberies take place at all the crossways, and the cries of distress from the victims never cease. For the prevention of such conduct imperative instructions must surely be issued?

4. The practice of entering the private dwellings of the people and making inquisition into their affairs must be given up.

When a person exerts himself to improve his condition in life and has a new or a bigger house built, he is immediately subjected to an inquisition (by his superiors) as to his means and so forth, and the house taken from him. Consequently he has no place wherein to hide himself, and he becomes a waif, and at last loses his means of livelihood. It is a most pitiable state of things.

5. In the present state of affairs, more than half the area of the capital has been reduced to vacant spaces (i.e. burnt down). Are they to be restored to their original owners and the rebuilding of their dwellings permitted?

The talk of the streets is to the effect that all who took part in the Imperial departure to the top of the mountain (Hiyeizan) are to be condemned, high and low without exception; and—without investigation as to the truth or falsity of the allegation—to have their properties confiscated, and so forth. Applying the provisions of the law to the matter, is there (not) a distinction to be made between the principals in turbulence and sedition and those who are only accomplices or merely their dependants and subordinates? Should (not) scrupulous investigations be made into each case, and the treatment be made different accordingly? Did an immense number of such confiscations (not) take place in the sequel of the Shokiu disturbance? If we are again now to take away the whole of their properties, will the Ducal Houses (*Kuge*) and the holders of Court offices (not) be reduced to cruel destitution?

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6. Co-operative building clubs for the erection of substantial fire-proof houses to be promoted.

Whether we regard the immense contributions both in money and gratuitous labour that have been levied on the people, or the prevalence of the practice of breaking into their houses for booty, it is to be feared that the erection of houses will come to an end entirely, and so the commodities which all, both high and low, stand in need of will cease to be supplied, and the poor become unable to make a living for themselves. If the plan of having (substantial fire-proof) dwellings erected (by voluntary co-operative clubs) be carried out, will it (not) become a basis for giving a sense of security to all the people?

7. Men of special ability for government work must be chosen for the posts of Protectors of the provinces.

In a time such as the present are we (not) to call upon faithful warriors and assign to them the office of the Protectorship in the provinces; and for those who have merited rewards are we (not) to procure the grant of Manors (*Shoyen*)? The provincial Protector is an ancient military functionary; the tranquility or disturbance of the whole county depends entirely on that office. If men of unquestionable capacity and such only be chosen to fill it, will (not) the minds of the folk be set at rest?

8. A stop must be put to the practice of influential nobles and women of all sorts and Buddhist (Zen) ecclesiastics making their interested recommendations (to the Sovereign).

9. Persons holding public posts must be liable to reprimand for negligence and idleness; moreover, they should be subject to the principle of careful selection for their posts.

The above two provisions have been settled principles of government for generations; they are not at all in the nature of new-fangled changes.

10. Bribery must be firmly put down.

Although this principle also (like the two preceding) is by no means now enunciated for the first time, a special injunction of more than ordinary stringency is required to deal with it.

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However subordinate his social position may be, were he worth only a hundred cash, the man who accepts a bribe must be excluded from all employment for an indefinitely long period; and if the amount of the bribe accepted be inordinate, he must lose all official employment for the rest of his life.

11. Presents made from all quarters to those who are attached to the Palace, whether of the Inside or Outside Services, must be sent back.

Whatever those in authority may be fond of, their subordinates will likewise affect. A reform in the direction of purity and honesty must be carried out. Rarities and curiosities from China and such like must particularly be disallowed as presents or souvenirs.

12. Those who are to be in personal attendance on the rulers (Sovereign and Shogun) must be selected for that duty.

It has been said: "If you want to know what sort the prince is, look at his ministers; if you want to know what sort a man is, look at his companions." Hence, seeing that the goodness or the reverse of a sovereign is at once apparent by looking at the character of the ministers he has under him, must they (not) henceforth be chosen on the ground of their capabilities? Again, when members of the ruler's entourage form cliques and in concert recommend or disparage some one, can anything be more calculated to engender quarrels and disorder? In the histories of the Chinese royal families and in the history of our own we have numerous instances of this. Then again, there is a further source of abuses when, for the sake of affording amusement, artistic performers, by their skill or beautiful costumes, work their way into royal favour and regard. Such adventurers should not be admitted to the royal entourage. Ought not this to be seriously considered [by the Sovereign]?

13. Ceremonial etiquette to be the predominant principle.

For regulating a state there is nothing that surpasses a regard for ceremonial formalities. For the prince, there should be a princely style of ceremonial; for the vassal (or minister) there should be a ministerial style. In all matters the distinction

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between higher and lower should be maintained; and both in speech and demeanour the observance of ceremoniousness should be deemed of cardinal importance.

14. Men noted for probity and their adherence to high principles should be rewarded by more than ordinary distinction.

That is the way to advance men of worth and to get rid of the bad. Directions should be issued by those having authority marking this distinction of character, by expressions of commendation or the reverse.

15. The petitions and complaints of the poor and lowly must be heard and redress granted.

In the administration of Yao and Shun this point was held to be of the first importance. In the Canon of History it is said, "What the ordinary man holds to be of small account the sage deems to be of high concern." This must be carefully borne in mind by those in power. Pity and commiseration find their appropriate objects in the poorer classes. Their distressful petitions should be entertained and dealt with; and it is imperative that instructions in that sense should be issued.

16. The petitions and claims of temples (Buddhist) and Shrines (Shinto) are to be dealt with on their merits, and are either to be approved, or, on the contrary, to be rejected if they deserve to be rejected.

In some cases these make a display of their spiritual influence: in others they make a pretext of establishing or enlarging their religious edifices: or again they make a display of mysterious signs and wonders, or proclaim that it is for the purpose of offering up prayers; and other such like motives are put forward as the ground of their petitions. The closest investigation should be made before sanctioning such requests.

17. There should be certain fixed days appointed for the rendering of decisions and issuance of government orders.

As a cause of distress to people in general nothing is more vexatious than remissness and neglect on the part of those in authority over them; and on the other hand matters should not be hastily dismissed off hand without going to the root of the questions at issue. Definite decisions should be given for one side or the other. That there should be no grievances left

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for the people to complain of is the chief object of authoritative instructions.

Such, in effect, is the purport of the foregoing seventeen articles. Although I, Ze-yen, am a scion of the stock of Li Tsao, I have become an unintelligent rustic of the moors and wilds; yet I have had the honour of being called in to advise respecting the principles of stable government; and the above is the outcome of what I have gathered from the study of the history and institutions of China and Japan in ancient and modern times. "At the present day throughout all the provinces there is no rest for the shield and spear. Ought we not indeed to stoop and pick one's steps warily?" The ancients had a saying:—"When living in safety, nevertheless take thought for danger." But we are now living in danger, and should we refrain from taking thought for the dangers we are in? Now is just the time to be apprehensive: these are the days when it behoves us to be circumspect. Looking back to distant times, let us take example by the virtuous influence of the two sage Emperors of the Yengi and Ten-ryaku periods (Daigo, 898 — 930, and Murakami, 947 — 967); to nearer times, by the example of the practical activity of Yoshitoki and Yasutoki, father and son. Let these be our teachers for the modern time. Above all, if we can dispense a system of government such as the myriads of the people can look up to with respect, will not this be the foundation for complete and peaceful security within the four seas? Accordingly the above is, in general terms, the tenor of the suggestions which we have the honour to submit for consideration.

(Signed) SHIN-YEI
(") ZE-YEN.

Kemmu, 3rd year, 11th month, 7th day.
(A.D. 10th December, 1336.)

Present at the Council:—The ex-Minister of the Interior; Ze-yen (Lay name Dosho or Michitaka); Shin-yei (Bonze); Gen-yei Hoin (Bonze); Dazai Shoni; Akashi Mimbu Tai-yu; Ota Shichirozayemon no Jo; Fuse Hiko-Saburo *Niudo* (i.e. religieux); Eight persons as above.

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Such is the second of Japan's feudal codes, and such the circumstances under which it was put forth. It is evidently, in its essence, more of a political manifesto than a legislative enactment. The name of code, *Shikimoku*, was doubtless given to it only by way of indicating its connection and continuity with its predecessor, the Hōjō Magisterial Code. In the fierce hurry of civil war, there was no time to redact its articles into legislative style, so the draft was promulgated as it stood. In substance, it is mainly a re-affirmation, with amplifications, of the political sections of the prior code. Its most important parts, indeed, are not its seventeen statutory sections, but its preamble and its epilogue. Taken together, its three portions amount to a revolutionary pronunciamento against the monarchical restoration. It is an appeal to public opinion, to men's reason and common sense, as against their instinctive political bias and their ingrained religious prepossessions. There is abundant evidence indeed that men's religious feelings exercised greater sway over the movements of the time than did considerations of political expediency. The coincidence of the number of 17 articles in this code with the same number in the code of Shotoku Taishi, the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism, as he has been called, is suggestive. As a matter of fact, the influence of the saintly Prince's name had been invoked and secured a few years before for the Imperialist cause, by means of a deliberate forgery. The story of Kusunoki Masashige's pretended discovery of a scriptural prophecy, being somewhat long, is told in a note appended to this paper.

Japanese historians in general display very shallow judgment in dealing with this portion of the national history. All their admiration is reserved for the devoted loyalty of Masashige; none of them has a good word to say for the motives, the policy, or the work of Ashikaga Takauji. Yet the patent and irrecusable facts of history prove him to have been one of Japan's greatest and noblest men. He was amongst the first to hail the legitimist restoration: but less than two and a half years' experience of the restored theocracy were sufficient to convince him that the nation had outgrown it; that its traditions, its spirit and its basic ideas were incompatible with the

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welfare of the body politic as a whole. The broad facts which demonstrate his insight as a statesman, and claim from his countrymen a rehabilitation of his reputation can be briefly told. Go-Daigo escaped capture and set up his court at Yoshino, some forty miles south of Kyoto. For more than fifty years thereafter there were two rival Emperors of Japan. This was the period known as that of the Northern and Southern Courts. But it was the Northern line, set up and supported by the Ashikaga party, which prevailed in the end and continued the Imperial succession to the present day. Go-Daigo's successor in 1392 surrendered to his northern rival the genuine regalia. By that time the portion of the country that acknowledged allegiance to the Southern Court had diminished almost to vanishing point. Thus, whatever the native historians may say, the facts of history prove Takauji's forecast to have been correct and his policy sound. He was clearly the foremost statesman of his age; and the return to the effete theocratic régime was a deplorable mistake, at once reactionary and abortive.

But it was doubtless inevitable; for the stream of a people's progress seems sometimes to wind backwards, and it takes time for men's religious ideas and sentiments to adjust themselves to an altered arrangement of economic and political conditions. The feudal form of land tenure, however, was now too widely and firmly established to allow of the old courtier caste of Kyoto resuming its former political ascendancy in the state; and the Buddhist religion had developed in a new and secular direction, its two latest sects, the Hokke and the Zen, having assimilated a few of the elements and much of the spirit of the Confucian ethico-political teaching. In short, the spirit of the age in Japan was, under a different outward form, virtually the same as in contemporary Europe,—a tendency towards the secularization of political affairs. The same fourteenth century of the Christian era witnessed the decline of the power of divinely descended Mikadoes in Japan and of divinely commissioned Popes in Europe; and just as in the second half of that century there were two rival pontiffs in Christendom so there were two rival theocrats in Japan. In

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both cases the old titular unity was restored in less than two generations, but the sway of the Kuge, the ruling caste of the Japanese theocracy, was over, never to return, whilst that of the Buke, the feudal military caste, was yet in its lusty youth. More than five centuries of social and political development had yet to be passed through before the Japanese nation, having achieved coherence under its Tokugawa overlords, and suddenly swept into a strange international environment, was to find in a reversion to the titular Imperialism of the Meiji era the foothold necessary for grappling with its new vital problems, and the starting-point of its career of modern progress.

NOTE TO THE ASHIKAGA CODE.

The story of Kusunoki Masashige's pretended discovery of an ancient scriptural prophecy is as follows:—

"On the 25th of August, 1332, Kusunoki Masashige went to the shrine at Sumi-yoshi to worship and presented three horses to the god. On the following day he repaired to the monastery Tennōji in Ōsaka and presented a horse with a splendid white saddle and a white-mounted sword and a suit of armour to the temple. This was an alms for the reciting of the Dai-han-nya Kyō (the Nirvana Sutra). When the reciting was over the venerable Abbot of the Monastery presented the books before him. Kusunoki Masashige met him and said:— 'My undertaking the present great enterprise [i.e. of restoring the power to the Emperor] may seem presumptuous in so insignificant a person as myself; but the Emperor's Commission is not a thing to be disregarded and I have put away all concern for my own life; and after being somewhat victorious in two battles the soldiers from all the provinces are rallying to my standard without waiting to be summoned. Such a fortunate conjuncture as this can only be due, I consider, to the special providence of the gods and Buddhas. Whether it be true or not I cannot say, but I have heard that Jōgu (i.e. Shotoku) Taishi, pondering over the future of the monarchs of his line and the course of their destinies as regards safety or

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danger, composed and left behind him a book of prophecy. If it be not asking too much, I should like to be allowed to look at the work and see what its purport is as regards the circumstances of the present age—that one volume only." The venerable Abbott replied as follows:—

"After the Prince (Shotoku) had vanquished the rebellious minister Mori-ya, and founded this monastery and from hence disseminated the Law of the Buddha, he composed a work in ten volumes, entitled "Sen-dai Kiuji Hon-ki" (i.e. Original Chronicle of the Old Affairs of Former Ages), recording events from the beginning of the age of the gods to the time of the Empress Jitō. His work was preserved in the family of Urabe no Sukune, and from their possession of it is derived their profession of diviners (*urabe*). Besides this work, there was also a Japanese book in one volume, which is preserved here. This consists of a forecast of what the vicissitudes of the Empire would be in the reigns posterior to the Empress Jitō; and of the fortunes of the successive Sovereigns. Although it is not at all an easy matter to allow this work to be shown to any one, yet I will make an exception in your favour and show it to you"; and taking from a secret recess a silver key, he opened a drawer and drew forth a scroll wound round a golden roller. Masashige was delighted, and at once unrolling it read it and found the following strange passage:—

"When the ninety-sixth of the human sovereigns comes to reign, the empire will be convulsed with disorder for a time and the sovereign himself be ill at ease. At this time a fish from the East will swallow up the four seas; the sun will be submerged in the Western sea, and after more than 370 days a Western bird will come and devour the Eastern fish. After that the whole empire will be reduced to unity and allegiance for three years, and then a monkey-like being will deceive the empire for 30 years. Then the great disaster will undergo a change, and the land will return to a single allegiance."

Masashige was greatly astonished, and after deeply reflecting what this passage might mean, it occurred to him that the preceding emperor (Go-Daigo) was the ninety-sixth in succession from the first human Sovereign; that the words

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"the empire for a time convulsed with disorder and the monarch ill at ease" applied exactly to the present time; that the Eastern fish that swallowed the four Seas was (Hojo Takatoki) Sagami Niudo and his following; that the Western bird that was to devour the Eastern fish must be the men who were to destroy Kamakura; that the Sun sinking into the Western sea was the Emperor exiled to Oki; that the 370 and odd days would mean the spring of next year, when the Emperor would proceed from Oki and regain his former imperial position. Having thus thought out the meaning of the prophecy he confidently concluded that the overthrow of the imperial authority was not going to be of long duration; so he presented a gold-mounted sword to the venerable Abbot, and made him put back the scroll into its secret drawer. He consequently now took great care of himself and, saying that he awaited the Emperor's coming triumph, he posted troops at Akasaka, and entrenched himself at the fortress of Chihaya.

Tradition says, with regard to this prophecy, that it was devised and the plan carried out by Masashige himself. Having talked the religious functionary over to the idea, he gave him the scroll and told him to put it into the safety-closet where the Prince's (Shotoku Taishi's) relics were kept. He carefully kept the fact concealed even from his own family and followers and, fixing a day for the purpose, applied for the prophecy to be shown to him. Then, with manifestations of great delight he called Maeda Onchi and others to his side, and said, "Look here, look here: a prophecy put forth by one who wielded the supreme power regarding the ages to come has here been left to us. The Emperor's good fortune cannot now be long of coming. Let us each and all rejoice"; and taking a piece of paper he copied out the passage and showed it to them all around. The knowledge of the incident spread from one to another, and soon everybody in the empire had a sight of it. The device proved to be a great success, and even where it was not at first successful, the thought that the Prince of Holy Virtue had foreseen a time when there would be a usurped government by the Buke, and that that time had now come, wrought powerfully in their minds, and though they

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might adhere to the Kamakura Government for the moment outwardly, yet in secret they were all the time thinking which of the generals they would elect to serve under, and at length joined either Takauji or Yoshisada.

There was part of the prophecy which turned out to be correct, that, namely, about the unity of the empire lasting for three years. The part about the monkey-like being swallowing the empire for over 30 years must refer to Takauji. Whether it was a subsequent addition to the original words, or whether it really was part of what Masashige wrote, cannot now be determined."—(From "Buke Hyorin," Vol. 41.)

At the conclusion of the reading the CHAIRMAN expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. HALL for his excellent paper, which had been of great interest to those present to hear it, and would make a very valuable addition to the Transactions.

The meeting then adjourned.

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THE TENGU.

BY

Dr. M. W. DE VISSER.

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Asiatic Society of Japan.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the British Embassy, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. on Wednesday, June 17. The President, H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, H.B.M.'s Ambassador to Japan, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read.

The Recording Secretary announced the election of the following persons as members of the Society:—

G. A. Scott, Esq., c/o Takata & Co., Tokyo;

Dr. W. W. McLaren, Keiogijiku University, Tokyo;

Prof. W. E. L. Sweet, Higher Normal School, Tokyo.

The President then introduced Dr. M. W. de Visser, of the Dutch Legation, to read his paper on "The Tengu."

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THE TENGU.

By Dr. M. W. de Visser.

ONE of the most interesting figures in Japanese demonology is the so-called Tengu (天狗). The question of the origin and significance of this being has been considered by Japanese scholars as one of the greatest importance. Even the famous Shintō reformer HIRATA ATSUTANE [1] and the learned novelist KYOKUTEI BAKIN [2] made a deep study of this subject. The former is responsible for an elaborate work called "*Kokon Yōmikō*," [3] and the latter devoted an article to it in his "*Nimaze no kizenshū*."[4] HAYASHI RAZAN,[5] also, deals with the Tengu in a chapter of his "*Honchō jinjakō*." [6] Many times we find quoted the book of a Buddhist priest, TEININ,[7] entitled "*Tengu meigikō*." [8] But this work, as well as SORAI'S [9] "*Tengu-setsu*" [10] and HIRAGA GENNAI'S [11] "*Tengu-ben*" [12] are condemned by BAKIN [13] as superficial or misleading. By far the clearest and most profound of all the older writers on this subject is BAKIN himself. HIRATA, indeed, displays an amazing range of learning, but by the great number of his quotations and by mixing up his subject with many things that do not belong to it, he becomes obscure and confused.

But there is also a modern Japanese scholar who works in this field, namely, the well-known philosopher and folklorist INOUE ENRYŌ.[14] He treats the Tengu most thoroughly in his highly interesting work "*Yōkwaigaku kōgi*," [15] and in a

1. 平田篤胤, who lived 1776—1843.
2. 曲亭馬琴, who lived 1767—1848.
3. 古今妖魅考, written in 1831.
4. 本雜記前集, written in 1811.
5. 林羅山, who lived 1584—1657.
6. 本朝神社考, 下之六 p. 7, Sōjō ga tani, 僧正谷.
7. 諦忍 8 天狗名義考.
9. 徂徠, that is, OGYŪ MŌKEI, 荻生茂卿, who lived 1665—1728.
10. 天狗說.
11. 平賀源內, who lived 1722—1779.
12. 天狗辨.
13. l. l. p. 8 a.
14. 井上圓了.
15. 妖怪學講義 (1896), Third edition (1897), vol. ii. ch. 40, pp. 235—239, and vol. iv. ch. 38, pp. 245—275.

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separate treatise entitled "*Tenguron.*"[1] Especially, the latter has great value on account of the systematic arrangement of facts and arguments. Yet the former work is more complete, because it gives more and unabridged quotations. It is a pity that the writer does not pay the slightest attention to the historical side of the question. Not one word does he say about the times in which all the books on this subject were written, nor does he follow any chronological order.[2] He overlooks some of the most important old works, which fact he himself acknowledges at the end of the "*Tenguron.*" As to the quotations he makes, we frequently have to be content with only the title of the book, without chapter or page. Nevertheless his works are of the utmost value as a basis for further research.

I.—THE CELESTIAL DOG IN CHINA.

The first question always to be asked by the student of Japanese folklore is this: Have we to do with an original Japanese belief or must we look to China for its origin? Generally he finds that the latter is the case; for China, the great maker of old Japan, had a mighty influence on its superstition too. It is Professor DE GROOT's masterpiece, "*The Religious System of China*", which gives the student abundant information on all kinds of subjects belonging to this branch of study. And the present subject is no exception to this rule. In part 2 of vol. v., which treats of Demonology, we find on pages 574 *seqq.* many interesting details concerning the "Celestial Dog." Professor DE GROOT's quotations from old Chinese works are as follows:

Standard Histories, *History of the South* (南史, 420—589), ch. 7, l. 10: . . . . "And in the 5th year of the Ta t'ung period (A.D. 539) the story was circulated in the Capital

1. 天狗論, Part 3 of the *Yōkwai sōsho*, 妖怪叢書, 1903.

2. The only reference he makes to the time of the Tengu legends (*Tenguron*, p. 23) is not only very vague, but he speaks there of the *Kujiki* as having been written according to MABUCHI's opinion 700 or 800 years before that authority's time; as we will see below the *Kujiki* mentioned by MABUCHI is quite different from the *Kujiki* in which we find a passage about the Tengu.

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that the Son of Heaven took livers out of men for food of the celestial dog."

The *History of the North* [1] states that a celestial dog came down, and ceremonies were performed to counteract the ills resulting therefrom; on which occasion the Emperor fell from his horse, which was scared by a hare, and expired soon after.

SZE-MA TS'IEN[2] says: "It has the shape of a large moving star, and produces a noise. When it descends and reaches the earth, it resembles a dog. Whatever it falls upon becomes a flaming fire; it looks like a fiery light, like flames flaming up to heaven. Its base is round and covers a field of several acres; its upper part is pointed and spreads a yellow colour over a thousand miles; it may defeat armies and kill the commanders."

The *Shan hai king* [3] states: "Midway in the large plain or desert there is a red dog, called the celestial dog. Wherever it descends, armed violence will prevail."

In the "*Old Books of the T'ang Dynasty*" [4] we read: "In the second year of the Chun-kwo period (A. D. 882), in the tenth month, thunder resounded in the North-west in a cloudless sky, and this was called a descent of the celestial dog."

The "*Old History of the Five Dynasties*" [5] says: "In the third year of the T'ung-kwang period (A. D. 925), in the ninth month, on the day ting-wei, when dark clouds covered the sky everywhere at night, a noise as of thunder was heard in the north, and the wild pheasants screamed. This was what people call a descent of the celestial dog."

Professor DE GROOT states that he is unable to trace the origin of the belief in that bloodthirsty anthropophagous monster, but that what SZE-MA TS'IEN describes is evidently an enormous dog-shaped meteor, confounded with a comet in the

1. 北史, (386–581), ch. 7, l. 30.

2. 司馬遷, *Historical Records*, ch. 27, l. 31, 史記, section 天官書.

3. 山海經, a very old classic mentioned already by SZE-MA TS'IEN in the *Historical Records*, ch. 122; ch. 6, 大荒西經.

4. 舊唐書, ch. 19, ii. l. 25.

5. 舊五代史, ch. 33, 1, 5.

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sky. Further, he says that it is the name of a star placed somewhere about Cancer.

The Japanese authors quote several other Chinese works containing different tales about the celestial dog. As to the *star* or *comet* or *meteor* they belong to the Han, Sung, Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, and contain the same facts as the texts quoted by Professor DE GROOT. One of the quotations from the *History of the Han Dynasty* (漢史) runs as follows: "In the North-west there are three big stars. They look like suns; their name is Celestial Dog. If a Celestial Dog appears, people bite each other (that is, war is coming)."

In the work "*Ho t'u*" [1] we read: "If the Great White Star (太白星) divides itself, it becomes the Celestial Dog" (this means: the Celestial Dog is a part of the Great White Star). In the old Japanese historical works, which, as a matter of course, follow the Chinese traditions, the Great White Star is often mentioned, apparently as an omen of war and calamity.

A curious story is told by WANG TING [2]: "The mother of the Empress I Teh saw in a dream the moon falling into her lap and rising again in an eastern direction. The moon's splendour was so great that she could not look at her. Gradually she (the moon) rose to the middle of the sky, when suddenly she was devoured by a celestial dog. The lady awoke with a fright and the Empress was born."

In the *Shuh i ki* [3] we find a story which is supposed to have happened in 1672. Early in the morning a villager saw on the roof of his neighbour's house "a being resembling a dog, but standing erect as a man. It had a sharp beak, the upper half of its body was red, the lower half blue as indigo. Its tail was like a broom, several ch'ih long. Frightened, he called his neighbour and told him what he had seen. As soon as the latter opened the

1. 河圖
2. 王鼎, in his work *Fan tsiao luh*, 焚椒錄, written under the Ming dynasty.
3. 述異記, written in 1701 by TUNG HIEN, 東軒. Another much older work of the same name is mentioned by DE GROOT, l.l. vol. iv. p. 156, note 1. Comp. also WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 200.

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gate, the being ran up to the clouds and suddenly there was a sound as of thunder. Winding as a snake it went away in a southwestern direction. During its ascent a fiery flash shot out and brushed the sky like a broom. After a while it was extinguished. Several tens of miles around its sound was heard, and there were people who saw its splendour. If a so-called Celestial Dog falls on the earth, it gives out a sound as of thunder. In the year Kiah-Yin of the same period (K'ang-hi) (1674) there was a rebellion (of 靖南王)."

A benevolent celestial dog we find in the *San ts'in ki*[1]: "On the Plain of the White Stag there is a citadel called Keu kia. In the time of Siang Kung of the Ts'in dynasty (249—206 B.C.) there was a celestial dog which descended above that place. When robbers came he barked and protected the place against them. Therefore the whole citadel was without any fear."

Finally, an extract may be taken from the *Wuh li siao shih*,[2] in which we read: "A falling star becomes a stone in the shape of a dog's head. Therefore it is called 'Celestial Dog.'"

All these writers bring the "t'ien keu" in connection with the sky or the stars. But there are others who place them in a quite different light. The poet Tu Tsz'-mei[3] of the T'ang dynasty, for instance, says in his "Poem on the celestial dogs"[4]:

"Sometimes they are above and fly to the clouds,
Sometimes they are below and become wild animals;"

and elsewhere in the same poem we read:

"The celestial dogs live *on the top of the high mountains*,
Their spirit (氣) touches the divine excellence,
Their colour resembles that of the wan-i,[5]
They are small as wan-k'ang.[6]

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1. 三秦記, cited in the *Pei wen yun fu*, 佩文韻府 (compiled under the special superintendence of the Emperor, and published in 1711).

2. 物理小識, written by Fang I-chi, 方似智, during the Ming dynasty.

3. 杜子美.

4. 天狗賦.

5. 猨猊, fabulous lions.

6. 猿狖, gibbons.

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An author of the Yuen dynasty, I SHI-CHEN,[1] says in his "*Lang hüen ki*"[2]: "In Kiün-Tsz' land there is the Phoenix-peak. From thence the celestial dogs come. Another name for them is '*t'ai chen mü sien*' (胎產女仙, pregnant verbose female *sien*) . . . . . They are *sien*, called celestial dogs."

In other places they are mentioned as a kind of badgers, living in the mountains,[3] or as birds or plants (the ginseng, 人蔘), or dragons.

As to their anthropophagous character, spoken of in Professor DE GROOT's first quotation, we can compare therewith two other references. In a work of the Ming dynasty, the *Wuh tsah tsü*,[4] we read: "According to the popular belief, the celestial dog always devours, wherever he stops, the infants of the people. For this reason he is very much detested by women and children."

HIRATA, who cites this passage in his *Kokon yōmikō* (ch. 1, p. 4 b), adds: "This is a strange being that lives in the mountains and flies through the air. Although it has the shape of a big shooting star (流星), in reality it is no star. Therefore it cries loudly, seizes, where it descends, the infants of the people, and devours them. It is a kind of mountain demon."

Another book of the Ming dynasty, the "*Ku kin t'an kai*,"[5] states: "There was a sorcerer who wept and said: 'My child has been killed by a Celestial Dog.' Suddenly several blood drops trickled down from the air, and after a while the head and the legs fell as falling stars."

Although in the following stories the celestial dog is not spoken of, the resemblance of those mountain demons with the Tengu of Japan is too striking to leave them unmentioned.

LI CH'OH[6] gives a legend the events of which happened at the time of a great meeting in a Buddhist temple. "In the

1. 伊世珍. Comp. DE GROOT, l.l. vol. iv. p. 105, note.
2. 瑯嬛記.
3. 狸, in the *Shan hai king*; or 山狗獾. in LI KAO's *Shih wuh pan ts'ao* (李果, 食物本草, Yuen dynasty).
4. 五雜俎, written by SIE CHAO-SHWAH, 謝肇淛, about 1592.
5. 古今談概, written by FUNG MUNG-LUNG, 馮夢龍.
6. 李綽, in his "*Shang-shu ku shih*," 尚書故實, written under the T'ang dynasty.

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garden all kinds of games took place. A boy ten years old was dancing on the top of a bamboo-pole, when suddenly there appeared a being resembling a fish-eagle (tiao-ngoh, 鵰鶚), seized the boy and flew away. The crowd got very confused and stopped dancing. Some days afterwards the boy was discovered by his parents, lying on the top of a high pagoda. They took a ladder and brought him down. His mind had become dull, but after a while he spoke to the following effect: 'A person resembling one of those "Yakshas which fly in the sky" (飛天夜叉) on wall-paintings carried me to the pagoda and fed me daily with fruits, the taste and origin of which I did not know.' After ten days his mind was as well as before."

In the "*Kwang si t'ung chi*"[1] we read: "More then ten shepherd's boys were playing together when suddenly they saw half way up the mountain slope a man, about two chang (丈) in length, with a face more than three ch'ih (尺) broad and twice as long. His hair was tangled; he had a bird's bill, and two wings on his back. He looked down on the dancing boys and laughed with delight. After a while he let his tongue hang down; it was so long that it hung over his belly. The frightened boys all ran home, but he called them back, shouting several times in the pure language of the barbarians: 'Halloo, halloo, don't be afraid, don't run away; enjoy yourselves by song and dance and flute playing.' At these words the boys returned, played on the flute and sang and danced. The man clapped his hands with pleasure and laughed loudly. His voice resounded in the wood. Again he let his tongue hang down as before. After a long while he went away and did not appear again."

Liu King-Shuh[2] gives in his work entitled "*I yuen*"[3] the following: "In the period Yuen-kia (151—152) a boy twelve years old saw a demon, three ch'ih long, with one leg, bird's claws and on his back a shell of scales. He came and

1. 廣西通志, ch. 42, written by Wu Hing-tsu, 吳興祚, in the K'ang-hi era (1662—1723).

2. 劉敬叔, an author of the Sung dynasty.

3. 異苑.

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beckoned to the boy, who got confused and disturbed, and did not play any longer. His parents beat him, but suddenly they heard a voice in the air saying: 'This is what I taught him; don't punish him.'"

The fact that he had one leg shows that it was a mountain demon, one of the so-called *khwei* (夔) and *sao* or *siao* (𤞷, 𤞷) of the Chinese mountains and hills (DE GROOT, l. l. v. pp. 495 *seqq.*)

In a work of the Tsin dynasty, the '*Sheu shen ki*,"[1] we find a description of the bird called *chi niao* (治鳥), which lives in the depths of the mountains. It is a kind of demon in bird shape, who, just as the Japanese Tengu, can change himself into a man, and sets the houses on fire of those who have him harm.

Considering the foregoing texts we find that in most of them the demon in question descends from the sky in the shape of a dog, amidst thunder and fire. INOUE, who points out that the Chinese authors describe the being as having the *shape* of a shooting star, but not as a shooting star, or comet, itself, thinks that we have to do with the thunder-beast (雷獸) (Tenguron, pp. 10 *seqq.*). This would be a very plausible explanation, if the appearance of the being was not spoken of in a way which shows that it is considered as rare and very ominous. Wherever it descends it brings war, something hardly to be ascribed to an ordinary thunderstorm. Therefore I prefer the explanation of the phenomenon as being a *meteor*, confounded, as Professor DE GROOT suggests in view of the words of SZE-MA TS'IEN, with a comet. This is a general mistake of primitive man, who considers both comet and meteor as falling stars or demons bringing calamity. In FRAZER's *Golden Bough*[2] we find a great number of instances of this belief, collected from all parts of the world. It is no wonder that the Chinese had the same idea. Their rich

1. 搜神記, a work written in the first decades of the fourth century by Yü PAO, 于寶 or, according to others, KAN PAO, 于寶. Comp. DE GROOT, l. l. vol. iv, p. 78, note 1.

2. ii. pp. 18 *seqq.*

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phantasy compared the queer-shaped meteors with dogs and brought them into connection with war and death.

But besides this meteor-demon we find other beings of the same name. In TU TSZ'-MEI's poem we read of two kinds of celestial dogs: demons in the clouds and animals on earth, living on the tops of the mountains and nearly equal to gods. This gives us for the first time a link between the meteor and the animal-shaped demon of the mountains and woods. Especially the badger, well-known in Chinese and Japanese folklore for its supernatural powers, obtained the name of the mighty demon of the sky. Even to the miraculous human beings, called *sien* (仙), who lived in the depths of the mountains, were immortal and could fly through the air, the name "t'ien keu" was applied. This proves that the latter was familiarly associated with the mountains in a supernatural sense.

We therefore arrive at the conclusion that in China the meteor-demon was confounded with an animal-shaped mountain demon, but that of the two the former had by far the predominance.

In Japan we see just the contrary. Introduced into this mountainous country, the name "celestial dog" wholly lost its primary meaning of meteor-demon and was used only in its secondary sense of demon of the mountain recesses and the depths of the woods. But in that character it was much more developed than in China itself. On comparing the above legends, in which the name "celestial dog" is not mentioned, with the Japanese stories about the Tengu, we will see at once that the latter has a complexity of qualities proper to several other Chinese mountain demons. In this way the Japanese Tengu became a being quite different from the Chinese t'ien-keu, although there are some characteristics of the latter to be found in him.

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II.—THE CELESTIAL DOG IN JAPAN.

§ 1.—*Eighth Century.*

The number of Japanese Tengu tales is enormous. Therefore we can only give the most remarkable specimens of the different kinds of legends, which have circulated in the course of the centuries. Quoting the principal sources we will treat them in chronological order.

In the oldest historical works, which date from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, the Tengu is not to be found except in one passage of the *Nihongi*. Thus, we read in chapter 23 (K. T. K.[1] i., p. 405) of this work, which was written in 720, the following particulars:

"In the spring of the ninth year (of the Emperor Jomei, that is, 637) on the 23rd of the second month a large star shot from the East to the West. At the same time there was a noise as of thunder. The people said: 'It is the noise of a shooting star'; others said: 'it is earth-thunder.' Thereupon the Buddhist priest[2] BIN spoke, saying: 'It is no shooting star, it is a Celestial Dog. Its barking is like thunder.'"

The same story we find later in the *Fusō ryakki*[3] and in the *Genkō Shakusho*[4]. All three tell us, immediately after recounting the incident, that there was a rebellion of barbarians in the same year. But only the third writer speaks of any connection between these two facts. According to his account the priest said: "This star is called 'Celestial Dog.' Perhaps there will be a revolt in the East." "And really," the author states, "there was an insurrection of barbarians."

From the statement of the *Nihongi* we can easily deduce the fact that the Celestial Dog was wholly unknown to the

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1. K. T. K. is *Kokushi taikei* (國史大系), a modern edition of old historical and legendary works. Of the same kind are the *Shiseki shūran* (史籍集覽) and the *Gunsho ruijū* (群書類從) (1795), while the *Hyakka setsurin* (百家說林) contains a great number of works of the Tokugawa period.

2. Only *Buddhist* priests are referred to in the following pages.

3. 扶桑略記. ch. 4, K. T. K. vi. p. 506; written by the priest KŌ-EN, 皇圓, in the 12th century.

4. 元亨釋書, ch. 20, K. T. K. xiv. p. 987; written by the priest SHI-REN, 師錬, who lived 1277—1346.

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Japanese people of that time. The priest BIN was a Chinese who taught them in this way what he had heard and read in his own country. The fact that the demon is not mentioned anywhere else in all the old historical works, although they very often speak of shooting stars or comets, shows clearly that this Chinese belief never got hold of the Japanese people.

But there is still more that we can learn from the simple words of the *Nihongi*. At the side of the characters 天狗, "Celestial Dog," we find kana, reading "*Ama tsu kitsune*" or "Celestial *Fox*." Now, the latter is also a well-known Chinese demon. Professor DE GROOT (Religious System of China, v. p. 587) quotes the *Huen chung ki*,[1] which states: "And when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven and becomes a celestial fox." The Japanese authors cite also the work *Wuh tsah tsü*,[2] where we read: "When a fox is a thousand years old, it ascends to heaven and does not haunt (the people) any longer."

Different is the description given by the *Kwang i ki*,[3] which says: "The Celestial Foxes are the oldest (of all foxes). They are mere spirit (精神) without shape. Therefore they possess persons, commit all kinds of strange witchcraft and cover in a moment, quick as the wind, a thousand miles forward and back." In the same book a curious story is told about a celestial fox which visited a person in the shape of a Bodhisattva, riding on a lion in the midst of a five-coloured cloud, and made the man sit down for seven days in meditation (dhyāna). Driven out according to the advice of a Taoist doctor by throwing a charm into the well and making the patient swallow another, the fox returned after many years as a great lord with a long train of retainers. He forced the man to give him the hand of his daughter, but again he was beaten, though this time with more difficulty, by the same Taoist doctor. In his original shape of an old fox he was put in a bag by the latter and brought to the Emperor, who by the

1. 玄中記, written before the 6th century.

2. See above p. 29, note 4.

3. 廣異記, a work written by TAI KIUN-TSZ', 戴君孚, after the T'ang dynasty, and quoted by HIRATA, l.l. ch. 1, pp. 6 *seqq*.

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advice of the Taoist banished him to Korea by means of a charm. The fox flew away with the charm and was ever afterwards worshipped by the people of Shiragi[1], one of the old kingdoms of Korea.

It seems to have escaped the attention of all the Japanese writers on this subject that the Celestial Fox is spoken of in the *Shoku Nihon kōki*,[2] which dates from 869. There we read how one evening in the year 834 "the sweeping of wings and crying was heard above the Palace. It was a flock of several hundreds of beings, whose voices were like those of seabirds, called 'kamome' (seagulls). Some people said that they were not seabirds but *Celestial Foxes*. The soldiers of the Body-guard all looked up to the sky, but the night was so dark that the beings could only be heard, not seen."

The *Ainōshō*,[3] an encyclopediacal work dating from 1446, states that Celestial Dogs and Celestial Foxes are mixed up in writing. HIRATA (l.l.) points out the great resemblance between the Chinese legends about the Celestial Fox and what the Japanese tell about their Tengu. Moreover, ASAKAWA ZENAN[4] mentions in his *Zenan zuihitsu*[5] three images of a Small Tengu, riding on a fox: Dōryō Gongen of Odawara, Izuna Gongen in his temple on the top of the Izuna or Fox-sorcery-mountain in Shinano province, and a third god in Shimōsa province; which all show the connection between the Tengu and the fox.

Indeed, it is remarkable how many characteristics the Japanese Tengu shares with the Chinese fox. Both impose upon man in the shape of a Buddha[6], or set houses on fire,[7] or possess persons,[8] or know everything which happens at a distance of more than 1000 miles.[9] Chinese werefoxes are supposed to have a mysterious pearl,[10] and, according to

1. 新羅.
2. 續日本後記, ch. 3, K. T. K. iii. p. 192.
3. 塵袋鈔, ch. viii. nr. 312, p. 38, 2.
4. 朝川善庵.
5. 善庵隨筆, written in 1850; *Hyakka setsurin* (see above, p. 34 note 1) vol. 正 上 pp. 671 *seqq.*
6. Comp. DE GROOT, l. l. vol. v. p. 590.
7. Ibidem, p. 596.
8. Ibidem, p. 586.
9. Ibidem, p. 586.
10. Ibidem, p. 593.

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the *Shasekishū*,[1] a Japanese work dating from the beginning of the 14th century, "whosoever becomes a Great Tengu gets a pearl, red as agate. If one holds this pearl before his eyes or ears, he can see or hear all that happens in the three thousand worlds." Although the power, ascribed to the pearl, is different from that of the Chinese belief, yet the resemblance is remarkable.

If we combine these facts with the vague term used by FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA,[2] who writes in his diary, the *Taiki*,[3] about the image of the "Heavenly-Lord of Atago-yama," the celebrated Tengu mountain (天公, pronounced Tengu), we arrive at the conclusion that the Japanese had no clear ideas about the difference between the Celestial Dog and the Celestial Fox, and that they confounded them in such a way, that the name of the former was applied to the characteristics of the latter.

§ 2.—*Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.*

The first work in which the Japanese Tengu appears is the *Utsubo Monogatari*,[4] the oldest collection of Japanese tales. It is quoted already in the *Genji Monogatari* (1004) and in the *Makura-zoshi* (1000), and dates from the end of the tenth century. In chapter 1, entitled Toshikage (俊蔭), nr. 16, 2, appears the following story: "That day being the day of the Emperor's going to Kitano, he went to see the neighbouring mountains. His attendant of the day, Udaishō no otodo (Commander of the Right Imperial Guards), turned his horse and said: 'Hark! there is some one playing on the koto.' His elder brother, the Migi no otōdo (Udaijin, Right-Minister) responded: 'How well the sound reverberates in this Kitayama! It is as if there were a whole orchestra playing. It must be a koto like the Setakaze in the Palace. Come, let us go nearer and listen!' His brother replied: 'Who would be playing for his pleasure in such a distant mountain? I am sure it will be a *Tengu*; don't go!' But the other retorted: 'Sennin play in

1. 沙石集, see below.
2. 藤原賴長, who lived 1120—1156.
3. 台記, a diary which runs from 1142—1155; see below.
4. 宇津保物語.

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this way; well then, I go alone.'" Going into the wood he found a beautiful girl playing the koto, but coming back he said that he had not seen anybody. His companions were convinced that it was the work of a Tengu.

This story shows clearly that in those early days the Tengu was considered as a mountain demon, who deluded people and decoyed them into the depths of the wood.

The next source is the *Konjaku Monogatari*,[1] which dates from before 1077. This highly interesting work contains an enormous number of legends from India, China and Japan. Chapter 20, which has been omitted in the *Kokushi taikei*, vol. xvi., is to be found separately, together with chapters 17 and 19 in vol. xxiii. of another modern collection of old books, the *Shiseki shūran*.[2] This chapter includes the following Tengu stories.

No. 1 (p. 134). A Tengu, on his way from India to China, hears the sea (!) singing a Buddhist text. Immediately he decides to put a stop to it, and goes in the direction of the sound. In this way he comes via China to Japan, continually hearing the voice without finding its origin. At last he arrives at the foot of Hieizan, the centre of the Tendai sect near Kyōto, and lo! there are the Four Kings of Heaven and the angels who protect the Law of Buddha, sitting as guardians by the small river, which flows from the mountain. The water of the river is singing the holy text, which he heard already at such a distance. After a while he ventures to ask the reason, and an angel tells him that this rivulet sings the text and is guarded in this way, because it is the privy of so many learned priests of Hieizan. At once the Tengu loses his desire to stop the singing, makes a vow to become a priest of Hieizan, and disappears. Really he is reborn as a man and attains episcopal dignity.

No. 2 (p. 135). A strong Tengu comes from China to Japan in order to see whether the Japanese priests are as easy to deal with as are the Chinese. With a Japanese colleague

1. 今昔物語, written by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, who died in 1077. K. T. K. vol. xvi.
2. 史籍集覽, nr. 21, pp. 134—196.

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he flies to Hieizan and tries his luck, but is shamefully beaten by a bishop, who by means of a tantra appears on the top of his sedan chair in the midst of a high flame. Twice more his efforts end in failure, and at last he lies down, kicked and beaten by boys. Then his Japanese friend, who has seen it all from a distance, asks him with a jeering laugh whether he had much success, smears his loins with ointment and sends him back to China.

No. 3 (p. 139). In the Engi era (901—922) there appeared in a big kaki-tree in the neighbourhood of Kyōto a Buddha, surrounded by a brilliant glare and a rain of flowers. During more than seven days high and low came from the capital in order to worship him. At last a very clever minister, who suspected that it was a mere Tengu trick, decided to go and have a look himself. The minister reasoned thus: "Wicked sorcery (gejutsu, 外術) does not last longer than seven days; to-day I will see what it is." On arriving at the spot he sent the crowd away and stared for an hour from his sedan chair at the Buddha, who continually caused a rain of flowers to fall. But lo! at once his power came to an end under the constant glare of the minister. He changed into a big kite (kusotobi, kestrel), which fell out of the tree with broken wings and was killed by a little boy.

No. 4 (p. 140). A Buddhist priest who passes for a very holy man, lives as a hermit on Takayama. By his incantations he can check the wild beasts in their course and make the birds fall down to the ground. One day the Emperor (Enyū, 969—984) becomes ill and the priests at the Court try in vain to cure him by means of their incantations. Now the holy man of Takayama is called and cures the patient in a very short time. This rouses the suspicion of the other priests. With the utmost fervour they all recite their incantations before the curtain behind which the mysterious man finds himself. Suddenly a loud cry is heard and the Emperor's room is filled with the stench of dog's urine. The priest tumbles from behind the curtain and is nearly beaten to death. Praying for his life he confesses that he worships the Tengu on Takayama in order to be revered by all mankind, and that the fact that he

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was called to the Palace and cured the Emperor was a result of his prayers to them. Thereupon he is ignominiously driven out of the Palace. The author observes: "Thus, although a person who worships such beings has an extraordinarily miraculous power (reiken, 靈驗), yet at last it comes to light. Nobody knows what became of the priest. Even to-day there are traces on Takayama of the place where he worshipped the Tengu."

No. 5 (p. 142). While a bishop is praying before the image of Buddha a Tengu in the shape of a nun steals a box containing sacerdotal vestments. On being discovered and pursued by the bishop, she climbs up a tree, but tumbles down by the power of his incantations, and the bishop recovers the box.

No. 6 (p. 142). During two years a Tengu tries in vain to seduce a pious priest by means of a woman whom he possesses. At last she gets so vexatious that the priest prays to Fudō Myōō to help him, whereupon the Tengu is bound by the god. The woman turns round as a top, knocks her head against a pillar of the temple, and cries loudly for help. The demon, speaking by her mouth, says that he has been wholly weakened by the miraculous power and that his wings are broken. As he beseeches the priest to let him go, the latter supplicates the god again and by virtue of this prayer the Tengu is allowed to leave the body of the woman. She recovers her senses, runs away and never troubles the priest again.

No. 9 (p. 147). A bonze who practices wicked sorcery (gejutsu, 外術) (just as the one in story No. 4), transforms clogs and sandals into little dogs, makes a howling fox leap out of his bosom, enters a horse or cow from behind and comes out through the mouth, and so on. After having done this for many years, he takes with him one day a young neighbour, who would like to learn his art, to an old priest in the mountains. At his advice the youngster first purifies himself by seven days of severe fasting and ablutions, and takes some rice with him in a new, clean bucket, but contrary to his teacher's prohibition he hides a small sword under his clothes.

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As soon as they arrive at the priest's house in the mountains, the mysterious old hermit says that he knows quite well that the visitor carries a sword, and orders a servant to take it off. But the lad, fearing that his last hour has come, decides to sell his life as dearly as possible, and jumps at the old man with his sword drawn. Suddenly mountain and house and priest vanish altogether and they find themselves in a temple in the capital itself. The sorcerer goes away, crying and lamenting that his work of years has been spoiled. A few days afterwards he suddenly dies. The author adds: "We do not know exactly the reason, but probably he was a devotee of the Tengu. The young man disappeared; likely he died also. A man who is clever in such arts, is deeply guilty. Therefore nobody who believes in the Triratna would desire to learn them. Anyone who does so is called a man-dog (人狗) and is, according to the tradition, no man."

No. 11 (p. 153). A dragon having the shape of a small snake is basking in the sun on the bank of a lake in which he lives. Suddenly a kite swoops down and carries him off to the mountains, where the bird drops its prey into a deep cleft in the rock. It is a Tengu who plays this trick on the dragon, knowing quite well that the latter cannot take his own shape nor fly into the air without the aid of water, though even a single drop. The cleft is quite dry and the dragon is about to die miserably, when, after four or five days, a second victim is thrown into the aperture. This time it is a priest, who, coming out with his pitcher on the verandah of his house in the midst of night, has been caught by the Tengu, lying in wait for him on the top of a tree. The dragon, strengthened by the drop of water that is left in the pitcher, changes at once into a little boy, flies into the air amidst thunder and lightning, with the priest on his back, and puts him safely down at his house on Hieizan. In the meantime the Tengu has taken the shape of a priest and is collecting wisdom in Kyōto, but the dragon throws himself upon his enemy and kicks him to death.

No. 12 (p. 155). A wholly ignorant but devout priest was prostrated in prayer before a Buddha image in the dead

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of night, when suddenly, he heard a voice in the air, saying: "Because your trust in me is so full of devotion and you recite so many prayers to me, I will come and fetch you to-morrow at the hour of the sheep. Do not neglect your prayers." The next day the priest and his pupils, with their faces to the West, were absorbed in devotion. At the hour appointed a blinding light appeared in the neighbourhood of a fir on the top of a mountain in the West. Looking with folded hands they saw the head of Amida Butsu, surrounded by a golden halo. Enchanting music was made by several Bodhisattvas, and a shower of flowers was falling from above. Kwannon, in the midst of a purple cloud, brought a golden seat for the pious priest, and Amida, enthroned on a lotus, took him along to the West. The disciples, thinking that he had gone to the Western Paradise, bowed low in devout prayer. But when a monk, some seven days afterwards, went into a distant valley, he heard the sound of groaning above his head. And lo! it was the same priest, stark naked, and bound on the top of a tree. The monk untied him, but the unfortunate man cried, "Why do you do that? Buddha has said to me that I should wait a little and that he would come back and fetch me." "Amida Butsu," he then exclaimed, "here is a man who kills me!" The bewitched priest was raving mad and died after a few days. He had been deceived by Tengu because he had no knowledge and did not understand the difference between the work of demons and the world of Triratna.

In other chapters of the same work the Tengu is mentioned only twice. In ch. 10, no. 35,[1] we read among the legends, which all begin with the words "Once there was in China" a.s.o., the story of a hermit, who, banished by a king on account of the abuse of his queen, died of grief in exile and became a king of Tengu. At the head of 10,000 of them he went to another country, because some of the Tengu would not hold any intercourse with one who died under such circumstances.

In chapter 28, no. 28,[2] Buddhist nuns, who are made drunk by eating mushrooms and are dancing in the mountains, are believed by the woodcutters to be Tengu.

1. K. T. K. xvi. pp. 517 *seq.*
2. K. T. K. xvi. p. 1337.

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If we reflect upon these tales we see the Tengu everywhere, except in the Chinese legend, playing the part of the sworn enemies of Buddhism. In their fight against Buddha's Law they appear as a Buddha or as priests or nuns. Their real shape must be that of a *kite*, for as such they fall out of a tree and carry away a dragon and a priest. They try to seduce a priest by means of a woman whom they possess, and to bring other bonzes on the wrong path by giving supernatural power to those who worship them. But woe to him who does not hold the power gotten from them in due veneration, for he dies within a few days. Buddha's Law, however, is still mightier than these demons. They can be subdued by means of incantations, provided that these are thoroughly carried through. Carrying off men and especially priests, who are afterwards found in a state of madness or stupefaction, was already in those days one of their favourite sports.

If we may believe MABUCHI,[1] one of the most erudite students of old Japan and its literature, the *Kujiki* or *Sendai kuji hongi*[2] was written 700 or 800 years before his time, that is, in the tenth or eleventh century. BAKIN, on the contrary, contends in the *Nimaze no kizenshū*[3] that it was compiled later[4] by a Buddhist abbot called CHŌ-ON (潮音), who used several old books in producing a counterfeit substitute of the lost work *Kuji hongi* of SHŌTOKU TAISHI (572—621). It seems to me that MABUCHI and BAKIN spoke about different books. The former probably had in view the *Kuji hongi* which we find in K. T. K., vol. vii., the latter another much later work of the same name, but both counterfeit substitutes of SHŌTOKU TAISHI's book. In the oldest of the two the Tengu is not mentioned, but in the latest we find him mentioned once. The

1. 眞淵. who lived 1697—1769; quoted by INOUE, *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, ii. p. 236.

2. 先代舊事本紀 3. l.l. p. 1055.

4. According to the *Nihon kodai monjikō* (日本古代文字考) of OCHIAI NAOZUMI (落合直澄) (1839—1891), CHŌ-ON wrote the book in the Tenwa era (1681—1683). Before he had published the whole work, it was found to be a mere substitute, the labour of his own brain. The editor was banished and CHŌ-ON would have undergone the same fate but for the protection of the Shōgun's mother.

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value of that passage, however, seems to me very little, as it stands alone in the whole of Japanese literature. It runs as follows: [1]

"Susanowo no mikoto's wild spirit filled his breast and belly. The superabundant part of it became saliva, and this became the Celestial Dog-Deities (天狗神, with the kana-reading 'Ama no zago-kami'), female but powerful gods. Their body is human, but their head is that of an animal with a long nose, long ears and long teeth."

Further, the author states that they easily get into a fury and are then very wild. When they push a god or a man, however strong he may be, forward with their nose, he flies a thousand miles away. Their teeth are so strong that they bite through swords. They can become pregnant by inhaling miasma.

Probably this is pure invention. The author doubtless found in the Chinese books mentioned above,[2] the passages about the Tengu as a female *sennin* and as a quadruped in the mountains, and he wished to put these data into a Shintōist setting. The mention made of the long nose seems to me to be evidence that the work is not very old, for we do not find the Tengu described in that way in writings prior to the Yoshino shūi (see below), which dates from the second half of the fourteenth century.

§3.—*Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.*

The *Eigwa monogatari*,[3] which was written about 1100, describes the magnificent Buddhist temple which the Emperor Shirakawa (1072—1086) built in the year 1077 on a place where Tengu were believed to live. The author says: "Although I had heard that the Tengu would hinder the building of the temple because they disliked it, yet the dedication took place in such a brilliant way" (as previously described).

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1. Vol. vii. 神祇本紀, ch. 5, p. 13.
2. Page 29.
3. 榮華物語, K. T. K. xv. ch. 39, p. 1707.

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Here again the Tengu were considered the enemies of Buddhism and expected to hinder the Emperor's pious intentions.

In the *Ōkagami*,[1] a work dating from the first half of the 12th century, we read about the illness of the Emperor Sanjō (1011—1016). Shortly after his accession to the throne he became blind, but from time to time he had brief periods of vision. There was nothing specially noticeable in his eyes excepting that the pupils were very clear. After some time the ghost[2] of the priest Kansen appeared and said: "I am riding on the Emperor's neck and covering his eyes with both my wings; when I clap my wings, he can see a little." Thereupon the Emperor abdicated the throne and repaired to Hieizan, but his prayers for recovery were not heard. Upon this the people said: "Now the illness ought to be better, and the prayers ought to have success. It is certainly the work of the Tengu of Hieizan."

In this passage we already find the Tengu not only haunting priests in order to belittle Buddha's Law, but even tormenting the Emperor, no doubt with the aim of causing court intrigues and confusion in the world. As in the Chinese story of the *Konjaku monogatari*, this Tengu is the angry ghost of a priest, who probably had suffered some wrong from the Throne and had died in anger.

The *Taiki*,[3] FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA's diary, states that in 1155 a man drove a nail into the eye of the image of the "Heavenly Lord" (天公) of Atago-yama. YORINAGA says: "I knew only that the Heavenly Lord of Atago-yama flies, but I did not know that there was an image of him on Atago."

The *Hosshinshū*[4] mentions the Tengu three times.

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1. 大鏡, ch. 1, K. T. K. xvii. pp. 478—480.

2. Mono no ke, 物の氣.

3. 台記. a diary which runs from 1142—1155; quoted by ANDŌ TAMEAKI, 安藤爲章, in his *Nensan kibun*, 年山紀聞, written in 1702; *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. 續上 p. 140, ch. 6.

4. 發心集, a Buddhist work of KAMO CHŌMEI, 鴨長明, who lived 1154—1216.

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In the first story[1] we read how during a thousand nights a priest prayed in a temple the prayer, "Possess me," and that another who heard these words suspected him of supplicating a Tengu to do the possessing.[2]

The second passage[3] speaks of a devout priest who promised his teacher on the latter's death-bed to serve him in the future life. But the teacher fell on the Tengu-road (Tengu-dō, 天狗道), and consequently the pupil, bound by his promise, died in madness and became also a Tengu. Otherwise he would have gone to Paradise. To make this known he possesses his mother and speaking though her beseeches her to pray for his soul. She does so, and after some time he possesses her again and tells her that, by virtue of her prayers, he is now going to Paradise. As a proof that he is shaking off his impure Tengu-body the terrible stench which fills the house changes at once into a delicious odour.

In the third story[4] a priest who was believed to be very devout built a temple in order to satisfy his vanity. Accordingly he was punished after death by becoming a Tengu, who possessed a living person and told through his mouth how he had deceived the people during his life by his false virtue, and how severe his punishment was. On the days of the festival of the temple his tortures were at their worst.

In these legends we read for the first time about the Tengu-road, as one of the punishments of hell for vain and hypocritical priests.

The *Kojidan*[5] contains the following legends. In 865 the Empress was possessed and tormented by a Tengu. He spoke through her mouth defiant words to the priests who during several months tried in vain to exercise him by their incantations. At last Fudō Myōō, after having turned his face several times away from the pious abbot Sō-ō,[6] who prayed a long

1. *Shiseki shūran*, 史籍集覽, vol. xxiii. nr. xxii. 1, p. 14.
2. Comp. *Kojidan*, 古事談, ch. 3, K. T. K. xv. p. 89.
3. Ch. 2, p. 41.
4. Ch. 8, p. 168.
5. 古事談, written 1210–1220; K. T. K. xv. ch. 3, p. 66.
6. The same abbot cured the Empress Rokujō in 888, by exorcising a supernatural fox who possessed her (*Fusō ryakki*, ch. xxii., K. T. K. vol. vi. p. 634).

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time to him for help in this case, revealed to him in a dream that the Tengu was the ghost of a bishop who during his life had been in the possession of Fudō's tantra, but afterwards had fallen on the Tengu-road on account of heresy. Although he was now a Tengu, he remained under Fudō's protection by virtue of the original vow (*honsei*, 本誓), so that it was impossible to bind him by means of this god's incantations. But if the priest used another tantra, the name of which the god gave him, he would be able to bind the demon. The abbot followed the advice and really succeeded in binding the Tengu. After having obtained from the demon a promise that he would never return, he let him go, and the Empress recovered at once.

In another story[1] a priest of Hieizan had disappeared. His disciples supposed that a Tengu had carried him away, but afterwards this assumption appeared to be wrong.

On p. 87 *seq.* we read about a little girl, twelve years old, who suddenly became unconscious. A Tengu who possessed her spoke through her mouth. When a bishop asked him his name, the demon answered that he was ashamed to speak it out, but that he would write it down. Thereupon the girl who, in her normal condition, did not even know the simple kana-writing, wrote in Chinese characters the name of a deceased bishop. The Tengu promised to depart from the girl, who got better at once.

In these legends the Tengu are again nothing more than ghosts of priests, who possess people and speak through their mouths or carry off their former colleagues.

In the *Heiji monogatari*[2] we read: "It is told that Yoshitsune night after night was taught the manual of arms by a Tengu in Sōjō ga tani, the Bishop's Valley in Kurama-yama. That was the reason why he could run and jump beyond the limits of human power."

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1. Ch. 3, p. 74.

2. 平治物語, written 1200—1225; edition with explanatory notes, ch. 3, 下, p. 262.

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The *Gikeiki*,[1] which treats of Yoshitsune's history, refers also to this valley. "Formerly the temple there was frequented by thousands of pilgrims, and night and day one could hear the sound of prayer-bells and kagura-drums. But now there are only Tengu living on the spot. When the evening sun is sinking to the West, there is a loud crying of spirits (mono no ke, 物の氣, that is, Tengu). Whoever dares approach the place as a pilgrim is seized by them and tormented. Therefore it is wholly deserted. Yet Ushiwaka (this is Yoshitsune's boy's name) secretly went to that place."

Hayashi Razan[2] devotes a chapter of his *Honchō jinjakō* to this legend. Yoshitomo's youngest son, Minamoto no Ushiwaka, afterwards called Yoshitsune, had been spared by Taira no Kiyomori after the Heiji war (1159) on condition that he should become a priest and be educated in the temple of Kurama (Kurama-dera). But the young man escaped and marched against the Taira, whom he destroyed in the battle of Dan-no-ura (1185). According to the popular tradition he attributed his success to a Tengu, whom he met one day in the shape of a strange man or yamabushi in the Bishop's valley, and who taught him how to handle arms.

It is the first time that we read about the Tengu's ability in handling the sword. The reason why he instructed Ushiwaka was, of course, the desire to cause war.

The *Hōgen monogatari*[3] relates the following:—In the year 1141 the Emperor Sutoku (崇徳) was forced by his father, the Emperor Toba, to abdicate the throne in favour of his younger brother, the Emperor Konoe, who died in 1155 and was succeeded by another brother, the Emperor Go Shirakawa (1156-1158). But Sutoku, assisted by Fujiwara no Yorinaga, revolted against the latter, and the Hōgen war (1156) began. Sutoku was defeated and banished to the province of Sanuki. In his exile he copied five volumes of the Mahāyāna and requested the Emperor to offer them for him in

1 義經記, written about 1220.
2. See above p. 24, note 5.
3. 保元物語, written 1200—1225, edition with explanatory notes, 下卷, p. 243.

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a temple at Kyōto, but Go Shirakawa refused. Then Sutoku declared that he would be his brother's enemy even in the future life. He bit his tongue and with the blood which gushed out he wrote on each of the book-rolls he had copied the following oath: "I have thrown the five volumes of the Mahāyāna, which I copied, on the three wicked roads (san akudō, that is, Hell, Preta-road and Animal-road, jigoku-dō, gaki-dō and chikushō-dō). By virtue of this great deed I shall become the Great Demon (大魔) of Japan. I shall throw the world into confusion and haunt the nation." From then on he never again cut his nails or shaved himself, and even during his lifetime got the appearance of a Tengu. After his death (1164) he became a demon of this sort, and all the wars of that bloody time were ascribed by popular tradition to his influence. Go Shirakawa was so afraid of the angry ghosts of his brother and his brother's ally, Yorinaga, who had been killed in the Hōgen rebellion, that he built a Shintō temple in their honour on the battle-field.

According to the *Gukwanshō*[1] there appeared in that temple in 1184 a miraculous snake (靈蛇), and one of the officials who had the supervision of the temple had a wonderful dream. The people believed that it was all the work of Tengu, especially of Sutoku's angry ghost. A woman with whom he had been in love erected in her house in Kyōto a chapel for his soul, and gradually the rumour was spread that there were miracles to be seen there.

In the *Gempei Seisuiki*[2] we read the same story, and in chapter 12 (p. 312) the ghost appears in Norimori's dream. Although Go Shirakawa had raised Sutoku to the dignity of God of Sanuki, and had conferred upon Yorinaga a high posthumous title, yet the angry ghosts were not appeased. This was apparent from a dream of Tani no Norimori, who saw Sutoku with both his generals and hundreds of soldiers in the pass of Kohata-yama. The deceased Emperor had long nails on hands and feet. His hair stood erect as silver nails,

1. 愚管抄, ch. 5, K. T. K. xiv., p. 531.

2. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250, *Teikoku bunko*, 帝國文庫, vol. v. ch. 8, p. 195.

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and his eyes were as those of a *kite*. They decided to enter the capital and deliberated in which house Sutoku would put up. As it was impossible for them to enter the palace of Go Shirakawa, because the head of the Tendai sect was just officiating there and Fudō and Dai Itoku were guarding all the gates, the whole procession marched to the house of Dajō Nyudō.

The *Gukwanshō*[1] contains the following story:—In the year 1196 the ghost of the Emperor Go Shirakawa, who died four years before, possessed two women and a priest, through whose mouth he spoke and ordered the people to worship him. The Emperor, Go Toba, exiled the first ones, thinking that they had tried to deceive him. But when the matter repeated itself, he began to believe that it was really Go Shirakawa's ghost who had spoken by means of these persons, and he was about to follow the command. Then Bishop Ji-en (probably the author of the *Gukwanshō*) wrote him a letter to the effect that he considered the whole thing to be the work of *foxes* or *Tengu*, who from olden times up till now liked to be worshipped themselves and to throw the world into disorder. "Already", he said, "many people in the capital have erected temples for Go Shirakawa's ghost, because they heard that you were intending to worship him. In this way the deceased Emperor is brought into contact with all kinds of low people, and used by such fools as miko, kannagi (female sorcerers) and dancers of the saru-gaku (monkey-dance). If such things happen, the world will come to an end." The Emperor, following the Bishop's advice, sent the last of the possessed women to a monastery and took no further notice of the words of the ghost. The woman gradually recovered. "It would have been deplorable if the Emperor had done harm to the country by listening to such things. As to the other persons who had been possessed by the *Tengu* and punished with exile by the Emperor, they were afterwards pardoned and are still living."

On p. 597 (ch. 7) the author speaks of Yoritsune (son of Fujiwara no Michiie), who became Shōgun of Kamakura in

1. 愚管抄, written 1220—1225 and ascribed to Bishop JI-CHIN, 慈鎮, also called JI-EN, 慈圓, who died in 1225. Ch. 6, K. T. K. xiv. pp. 555 *seq.*

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his second year (1219). This was a thing unprecedented in history. There had always been a deep gulf between the *kuge* and the *buke*, the court nobles and the military caste. He was the first who combined the two. No wonder that there was great indignation among the other members of the Fujiwara Family, who considered it a stain on their name. The author remarks: "It is dubious whether it was an idea of Hachiman, the Great Bodhisattva, or the work of *Celestial* or *Terrestrial Dogs* (天狗地狗). From olden times the angry ghosts (怨靈) have ruined the world and the people. Therefore one must first pray to Buddha and the gods."

In ch. 6, p. 549, we read about a priest without knowledge, of whom the people said that he spoke ill of others and "worshipped only Tengu," and in ch. 5, p. 529, the rebellion of Minamoto (Kiso) no Yoshinaka against Emperor Go Shirakawa, whose palace he burned down in 1184, is ascribed to the Tengu, namely, to Sutoku and his followers.

In these legends the Tengu are angry ghosts of the dead, but on the other hand they are bracketed now with foxes and again with "Terrestrial Dogs." BAKIN[1] gathers from this fact that the latter must be the same as foxes. Just as did foxes, so the Tengu possessed men in order to do harm to the world and throw it into disorder. The desire of the Tengu to be worshipped by mankind, which we have noted already in earlier sources, comes clearly out in Ji-en's advice to the Emperor.

In the *Gempei Seisuiki*[2] the god of Sumiyoshi appears to the retired Emperor Go Shirakawa and tells him that, although the priests of Hieizan seem to be very bad in hindering his baptism in Miidera, in reality it is not their fault but the work of the heavenly devils (Temma, 天魔) of Japan, who have come together and possessed the priests. When the Emperor asks him what kind of beings these Temma are, the god answers that they are animals with a little supernatural power, and that they are of three kinds: *Temma*, *Hajun* (波旬, the same as Mahajun, 魔波旬) and *Ma-en* (魔緣). As to the first kind, continues the god, all proud sages and scholars and all people

1. l.l. p. 1054.

2. See above p. 24, note 4; ch. 8, p. 206.

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of bad principles, who, erring in the darkness of stupidity, do not like to receive the light of the sages, become Temma. They have the head of a Tengu and the body of a man, with wings on both sides. They possess supernatural power and know the things of a hundred years past and a hundred years ahead. They fly through the air like falcons. As they are Buddhists, they do not fall into hell, but as they have bad principles they do not go to Paradise. Whoever hinders the pious believers and ridicules their prayers, falls after death upon the Tengu-road. Eight or nine out of ten priests of to-day go that way and break Buddha's Law.

To quote further and in full: "Proud nuns become Nun-Tengu, the priests Priest-Tengu. Although their faces are those of the Tengu, their heads are those of nuns or priests, and although they have wings at the arms, yet they wear something like a dress and around their shoulders hang scarves (kesa). When ordinary men, who are proud, become Tengu, they have Tengu faces, but on their heads wear the eboshi (a cap formerly worn by nobles); and although they have wings on both arms, yet their bodies are covered with something like suikan-bakama (a silk robe worn by ancient court nobles), hitatare (clothes anciently worn by common people) or kariginu (a kind of silk garment anciently worn by nobles when going a-hawking). When ordinary proud women become Tengu, they wear wigs on their heads and have their faces smeared with something like red and white paint; they make themselves long eyebrows and blacken their teeth. With red hakama (loose trousers) and usaginu (thin woven dresses) on they fly through the air. When a Tengu ceases to play a part as such and is about to assume the body of a man, he sinks into abstract contemplation (samādhi, 入定, nyūjō) on the top of a mountain or at the bottom of a deep valley, a thousand miles away, where nobody comes. Then his name is *Hajun* (破旬) and it is said that he acquires a human body after the lapse of ten thousand years. Although proud persons and people of bad principles certainly become Tengu, they are called *Ma-en* (魔縁, devil connection) as long as the world does not yet know of it and

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they continue thinking themselves superior to others. They are called Ma-en, because all Tengu (devils 魔, *ma*) make use of this pride to establish a connection (*en*, 縁) (between themselves and the proud persons in question), and so come together with them.[1] Therefore, if one serves Buddha without pride, there is no ma-en, and no Temma (heavenly devils) come to hinder him. Although there are great numbers of Temma in the world, they never come to a house where no connection is established by which they could hinder (the inhabitants of the house). That is the reason why, as soon as you (the Emperor) became proud and rendered yourself liable to be attacked by the devils (ma-ō, 魔王), the Tengu of all Japan possessed the priests of Hieizan and hindered your baptism (in Miidera). Really the fault lies in your own pride. You thought: 'Among the forty Emperors who preceded me no one was such a devout Buddhist as I; even among the priests such devotion as mine is rare. I have never omitted to pray before the mandara twice each night.' Therefore *ma-en* was with you. Many Great Tengu assembled and your baptism could not take place."

Further, the god teaches the Emperor that learned priests become Great Tengu and priests of little knowledge become Small Tengu. "If they are wholly deprived of knowledge—for such ones are also proud—they fall upon the Animal-road (chikushōdō) and, being reborn as horses or oxen, they are thrashed and tormented from morning till night. In the middle ages there lived in Japan a bishop whose name was Kakimoto no Ki, a pupil of Kōbō Daishi. He was also his intimate friend and nearly his equal. But he grew proud as being the possessor of the Great Law and became the first Great Tengu of Japan, Tarōbō of Atago-san. As there are many proud men in the world, a great number become Tengu, and on all the mountain peaks of the country twenty, thirty, fifty, a hundred or two hundred of them are assembled."

After these words of the god the Emperor confesses that he really had praised himself as the most devout of all Emperors, and says that he is now full of repentance.

1. Pride is, so to say, the key by which the door is opened to the Tengu.

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During the night of the cremation of Kiyomori's body (1181)[1] there was a bacchanal of samurai who laughed and sang and danced. When two of them were arrested, they said that they had only the intention to drown their sorrow in liquor, but it was considered a lie and they were at once dismissed. The author of the *Gempei seisuiki*, however, believes that they were possessed by Tengu, as it was beyond conception that anybody should hold a bacchanal on such a sad occasion. The same story we find in the *Heike monogatari*.[2]

The author of the *Gempei seisuiki* ascribes also the conflagration of a palace in Kyōto (ch. 26, p. 669) to Tengu and angry ghosts, who apparently had in view the fall of the House of Taira.

When we reflect upon these legends we see that the Tengu are still described in a wholly Buddhistic way and considered to be the punished ghosts of proud priests or laymen. Besides fighting against Buddhism they cause confusion in the world. For the first time we read here about their inclination to incendiarism and their faculty of knowing the past and the future within a period of a hundred years, which we shall see them showing in their meetings, described in later sources.

The *Jikkinshō*[3] states that under the Emperor Go Reizei (1045—1068) the world was disturbed by Tengu. An old priest saved a *kite* from the hands of boys, who were about to kill it. This kite came to him in the shape of a priest and offered him a reward for having saved his life. "Being acquainted with lower sorcery (小神通)," he said, "I am able to do a good deal for you." The old man answered that there was no wordly thing that had interest for him any longer, but that he should like to see Shaka Nyōrai explaining the Law on the Sacred Mountain. Thereupon the Tengu—for although the name is not mentioned, it was certainly such a demon—carried him to the top of a mountain and requested him to close his eyes and not to open them before he heard Buddha's voice. But

1. Ch. 26, p. 668.
2. 平家物語, written 1225—1250, edition with explanatory notes, iii. p. 802.
3. 十訓抄, written shortly after 1252; K.T.K. xv. ch. 1, nr. 7, p. 630.

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he did not allow him to feel any devotion. Sakyamuni appeared in the midst of Bodhisattvas and saints. Flowers were falling from the sky, an odorous wind was softly blowing, and angels, sitting in a row on the clouds, formed a heavenly choir. Sakyamuni, seated on a lotus, preached in a very solemn manner and with profound wisdom. The vision was grand beyond description. After a while the old priest, full of devotion, bowed his head and wept. But lo! suddenly the whole scene disappeared and it was as if he awoke from a dream. He found himself lying in the deep grass on the same spot where he had met the Tengu. The latter appeared again and said: "As you displayed belief against my advice, there came an angel saying: 'How do you dare to deceive such a pious man?' and he struck us, whereupon all the priests (that is, Tengu) whom I had taken into my service, fled away. I was beaten on both my wings and my art was of no use to me." After these words he disappeared.

The next story[1] tells about a Temma (天魔) in India, who also showed Buddha to an Arhat on condition that he would not worship him. But the Arhat did not follow the demon's advice and when he bowed down in devotion, the Temma appeared at once in his original shape, with a string of bones around his head instead of a halo. "It was," as the author says, "just like the transformations of the Tengu now-a-days."

We see here clearly that in old Japan the character of the Buddhist devil was transferred to the Tengu.

The *Kokonchomonshū*[2] gives the following stories:— In the period of Kempō (1213-1218) a pious priest was hindered again and again in his religious work by Tengu in the shape of yamabushi (Buddhist priests who travel about in the mountains), who at last carried him away though the air to their house and offered him strange fish and sake, which he wisely refused. As he was praying continuously, two angels appeared, dressed in white, with twigs in their hands. At once all the Tengu ran away and hid themselves, small as rats,

1. Ch. 1, nr. 8, p. 632.
2. 古今著聞集, written in 1254; K.T.K. xv. ch. 17, p. 545.

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behind the rafters. The angels took the priest back to his house through the air. "Thus strong is the power of belief even in these godless days," concludes the writer.

At the same time[1] a little boy, seven years old, had been stolen. Three days afterwards, in the midst of the night, somebody knocked on the gate and called: "Open! There is your lost son!" As nobody obeyed, there was much noise and laughter outside, and something was thrown into the house. It was really the child, more dead than alive. The mother implored all kinds of exorcists (kensha, yorimashi and miko) to pray for him, whereupon he got rid of an enormous quantity of horse dung, which the Tengu had given him as delicious food. He did not at first speak, but gradually he recovered his senses.

On p. 553 we read about a Tengu who in the shape of a priest led another priest about from monastery to monastery. After having persuaded him to sell his sword in order to buy wine, he took the poor man with him to the top of the bell tower of Kiyomizu-dera in Kyōto and bound him there with the tendrils of vines between the ceiling and the roof. At last somebody who had come to ring the bell, heard the priest groaning and untied him. Another Tengu,[2] who also had changed himself into a priest, carried a bonze through the air to an unknown mountain, where a great number of his fellow Tengu, all in the shape of priests, were assembled. On the command of their chief he was carried home in the same way.

In 1242,[3] on the occasion of a great festival in Kyōto, a priest was found lying in the branches of a pine tree. His hair was dressed in a queer way and he was nearly dead. This was evidently a Tengu trick.

With these stories we enter upon a new phase of Tengu legends. Although the principal motive of their deeds continues to be opposition to Buddha's Law by hindering the priests in their pious work, and carrying them away and binding them on the tops of high trees or towers, yet now, on

1. Ch. 17, p. 548. 2. Ch. 17, p. 541. 3. Ch. 17, p. 553.

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the other hand, they steal children with no other reason than to vex the parents, bringing them back in a deplorable condition and in a stupefied state of mind. They mostly appear as *yamabushi*, and the food they offer to their unwilling guests is afterwards found to be nothing at all but dung.

The *Hyakurenshō* [1] tells us that on the 21st day of the 12th month of the year 1089 the retired Emperor (Shirakawa) visited Hikone-dera, a temple in the Hikone mountain which was well known as being inhabited by Tengu. At that time high and low made pilgrimages to this temple, because it was believed that only till the end of that year could one make sure of the Buddha's protection by going and praying to him. Within a few days thereafter the pilgrimage would be in vain. But the world called it the work of *Tengu* (who caused themselves to be worshipped there and gave assistance to those who came). In the following year no pilgrims went any more.

In the *Azuma kagami* [2] we read: "In 1234 there appeared in Nara a Tengu who wrote in one night on more than a thousand houses the characters: 未來不, Miraifu. The meaning of these characters is inexplicable. It is very strange."

In 1252 [3] at Kamakura a Tengu spoke through the mouth of a girl whom he had possessed, and told a story from the Jōkyū era (1219—1221). In that era the Emperor Go Toba had been defeated by the Hōjō and banished to Amagōri in Oki province, where he died in 1239. Now this Tengu declared that he had come to Kamakura as a messenger from the deceased Emperor, and that he had lived a long time in the house of the Shōgun, until a priest read sutras there and Law-protecting angels drove him out of the house. Then he had possessed the girl. A bishop, to whom she fled, tried to exorcise the demon by his incantations and really succeeded. She lay unconscious for several hours, and then when she recovered her senses, her mind was stupefied. The Shōgun, who heard about it, sent for the mother of the girl and ordered

1. 百錬抄, written after 1259; K T.K. xiv. ch. 5, p. 54.
2. 吾妻鏡, (written afterwards 東鏡), written shortly after 1266; ch. 29, 校訂增補吾妻鏡, vol. vi. p. 107.
3. Ch. 41, vol. viii. p. 1.

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her to tell him the whole matter. The account convinced him more than ever of the power of Buddhism (because the Tengu had been driven out of his house and exorcised by the bishop).

The *Shasekishū*[1] contains the following Tengu legends:— A priest was minded to pass the night in an old chapel in the mountains. As the villagers had told him that there were Tengu living there, he hid himself behind the Buddha image. Deep in the night he saw a procession of twenty or thirty little priests coming from the top of the mountain. They escorted a stately high priest riding in a sedan chair and all finally entered the chapel. The frightened man behind the image immediately made the sign for rendering one's self invisible, but the high priest at once discovered him. First he sent his followers away to play outside, and then in a friendly way invited the trembling priest to approach and to learn from him how he had to make the sign in order to be really invisible. After having revealed the secret the high priest said that he had first ordered the little attendants to go away, because he did not like to explain such important things in the presence of worthless fellows such as they were. Then his pupil tried again to make the sign and this time he became quite invisible. The high priest called the others in and they danced till daybreak. Then they left the chapel and went back to the mountain top.

The second story[2] runs as follows:—A little boy had been stolen from a monastery in the mountains. After a few days he was found, unconscious, on the top of a roof. On being brought to his senses by means of tantra, he gave an account of his adventures. He had been taken by yamabushi to a place in the midst of the mountains, called Amakuji. The chief of all the assembled yamabushi, a very old and worthy priest, called the child to him and said: "Those fellows there are a worthless lot; don't be afraid of them, but just look quietly on." Now the yamabushi danced, but after a while there descended from the sky something like a net, which seemed to contract

1. 沙石集, written by the priest Mujū, 無住, who died in 1312. Ch. 8 上, pp. 15 *seq.*
2. Ch. 8, 上, p. 15 b, 16 a.

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itself round the dancers. In vain they tried to escape. Out of the meshes of the net flames shot forth and burned them gradually to ashes. After a while, however, they became the same yamabushi as before and played as if nothing had happened. At the command of the old priest they took the child back to the monastery.

In a third legend[1] a deceased priest of great knowledge, whom everybody supposed to have been reborn in Paradise, is met by one of his pupils in the mountains, and leads the pupil to his new abode. It is an old monastery in the inner part of Kasuga-yama. In the preaching-hall rows of monks are sitting in full dress and holding a meeting with question and answer as usual. But all of a sudden there descend from the sky a big sake kettle, sake ladles and cups, and devils of hell who scoop molten copper out of the kettle into the cups and offer these to the monks, who are all burned and reduced to ashes. After a while they revive and go back to their cells. The priest who led his pupil to this place says to him: "We receive such severe punishment because during life we studied and practiced Buddha's Law with hearts full of ambition and greediness."

Mujū adds the following remarks to these stories[2]: "The Tengu are not to be found in orthodox Buddhist scriptures. They may be what the former Buddhist scholars called *maki* (魔鬼, devils). It is a word which has been transmitted only in Japan. Probably it means a kind of demon. Those among the Buddhists who transgress the commandments and are shameless will probably be punished in the above way. Whoever combines self-conceit, pride, ambition, covetousness and flattery with the service of Buddha, will receive such punishment."

A little further he states: "Although the world of demons is generally the same, yet the good 'demons' and the bad ones are different. People who during life believe in Buddha's Law but are always proud and fond of special things, practice also (after death) as demons Buddha's Law, nor do they hinder others in the practice; they even become

1. Same chapter, same page.

2. Page 16 a.

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protectors of Buddhism. But the unbelievers, who only think of glory and gain, and who are very proud, these people hinder (as demons) the 'Root of the Good.' Therefore Salvation is far removed from them. Also among the Shingon priests there are several who go that way (that is, who fall on the Tengu-road). Recently, it is said, a celebrated Shingon priest of Kōyasan became a Tengu and taught his disciples through the mouth of a person whom he possessed the secret doctrine (of the Shingon sect). He who is wise and devout will anywhere (even on the Tengu-road) practice the Buddhist rites and (finally) escape from the demon world. So there are good and bad Tengu."

In this work the Tengu, as might be expected from the author, a priest, is described as a purely Buddhistic conception; it is simply a punishment of hell for proud and ambitious priests. For the first time we learn here *how* such persons are punished, namely, by being forced to swallow boiling copper or burned by a flaming net. We now see the Tengu from a different point of view, because a distinction is made between the good and the bad. In the first legend the high priest is a good Tengu, his little followers are bad ones. In the second story we notice the same difference between the old priest and the yamabushi, and the leading priest in the third tale is apparently also a good Tengu.

The *Yoshino shūi*[1] relates the following stories:—A young lady had eloped with a gentleman of high rank. People went out in all directions into the mountains to seek for her, but in vain. They supposed that she had been carried away by Tengu who, as they said, always lived in the depths of the mountains.

Another story[2] tells about a Minister who went in full ceremonial dress from his house to the palace and met some samurai from Kii province. The samurai, who were in the capital for the first time in their lives, were greatly astonished

1. 吉野拾遺, a history of the Southern Court, 1336—1358, written by Inshi Shōō, 隱士松翁. *Gunsho ruijū*, 群書類從, 2nd edition, vol. xvii. nr. 485, p. 548.

2. Page 549 *seq.*

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to see this pompous spectacle, and as the Minister had an enormous nose, they said to each other: "That *must* be a Tengu." He heard this and answered jokingly with a verse:

"If you think I am a Tengu, you may keep that opinion,
Although I am no Tengu, my nose is big enough."

If we consider the *Kujiki* as of later date, this is the first passage where we find the long nose of the Tengu mentioned. Formerly they were always described as having kite's beaks. No doubt the long nose is only a humanised bird's bill. As is very often the case with animal-shaped gods and demons, there is a general tendency towards taking the human body. First of all the Tengu were kites, then they became men with the head of a kite, thereupon they had only a kite's beak, till at last the latter changed into a long nose.

The *Taiheiki*[1] is an important book of reference on this subject. It contains the following legends:—Hōjō Takatoki, the last Shikken of Kamakura, called the Nyūdō of Sagami, was dancing the dengaku, or field-dance, after having drunk a good deal of sake. Suddenly there were ten or more strange dancers in the room—whence they came he did not know—who danced and sang extraordinarily well. He heard them singing: "Oh, that we may see the spook-star of Tennōji." A court lady who heard the voices, peeped curiously through the sliding doors into the room and saw that they were no human singers. Some of them had claws like the claws of kites, others had wings on both sides. Their shape resembled that of yamabushi. Apparently they were spooks of a queer kind and type, who had changed themselves into men. At the lady's request another Nyūdō (lay-bonze) appeared on the scene, but as soon as the unearthly beings heard him running through the gate they disappeared as if wiped away. Takatoki himself was lying dead drunk on the floor, and when he awoke he knew nothing of what had happened. But the mats were trampled and dirty, and there were many traces of birds to be seen on them. This made the Nyūdō sure that there had been Tengu in the room.

1. 太平記, written about 1382. Edition with explanatory notes, vol. i. ch. v. p. 2 a.

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The next day another official gave the following explanation: "It is said that, when the world is about to be disturbed, the bad star called the 'spook-star' (yōrei-boshi, 妖霊星) descends and brings calamity. But Tennōji (the celebrated monastery built by Shōtoku Taishi in 593 in the present Osaka) is the most sacred place of Buddhism. Here Shōtoku Taishi himself wrote his 'Nihon isshu no miraiki' (the 'Future of all Japan'). It is strange that those spectres sang about 'the spook-star of Tennōji.' I am therefore sure that there will arise a rebellion from the neighbourhood of that monastery, which will cause the ruin of the state."

As BAKIN rightly remarks, this spook-star vividly reminds us of the Chinese Tengu-star, which, falling upon the earth, drinks the blood of mankind and brings war among them. We find here, curiously enough, in one story the bird-shaped Japanese Tengu and the harbinger of war, the Chinese meteor, both mentioned. The whole legend is probably an omen of Takatoki's approaching fall (1333).

In ch. 10, p. 2, we read how a Tengu in the shape of a yamabushi in one day called the men of Echigo province to arms, in order to assist Nitta Yoshisada in his insurrection against the Hōjō (1333). Yoshisada was very much surprised to see them arriving before he had had time to summon them.

Ch. 18, p. 2, tells us the reason of the old feud between the monasteries of Negoro and Kōya-san. There lived in the Middle ages on Kōya a pious and learned priest, called Kakuban, into whose heart the Tengu tried in vain to steal. One day, however, when he was in his bath, he happened to indulge for a moment in a mental and bodily delight. Immediately the demons took advantage of the occasion, got power over him and gave him the "devil of making something" (that is, the desire of doing something grand). He got the idea of building a monastery and assembling around him a great crowd of monks. Really he built on Kōya, with the assistance of the retired Emperor Toba (1107—1123), the monastery called Dembō-in.

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"Thereupon Kakuban suddenly shut the doors of death (that is, he sank into abstract contemplation, samadhi, and sat down motionless) and waited for Maitreya's coming." This roused the indignation of the other priests of Kōya, who would not allow that proud priest, as they said, to follow Kōbo Daishi's example. When they came to destroy the monastery and were already burning down the buildings, they found Kakuban, sitting in the shape of Fudō Myōō, surrounded by a halo of flames. One of the number endeavoured to lift him up, but he was as heavy as a mill-stone and quite immovable, thus proving true to his name of Fudō (the Immovable); also his diamond-sceptre (vajra) seemed to be infrangible.

Yet the bad monks were not afraid, for they considered it a kind of sorcery, such as foxes and badgers are able to practice. They threw big stones at him in order to make out whether it was really Fudō Myōō or only a metamorphosis of Kakuban. But they could not touch him and the stones fell to pieces. Thereupon there arose in Kakuban's heart a little pride, and immediately a stone injured his forehead. When the monks saw the blood, the whole crowd laughed scornfully and cried: "There you are," and all went back to their monasteries.

But Kakuban's five hundred followers would not stay there any longer, and they built a new monastery in Negoro. Since that time there has been a feud between Kōya and Negoro.

Afterwards Kakuban's ghost possessed a priest and spoke through his mouth, saying that he was a Tengu, and that there were three hundred of them, who had divine power and threw the world into disorder by rousing all kinds of ideas in the brains of mankind.

Ch. 21, p. 2 b, describes the burning of the great temple Hojōji. The fire started from the top of the pagoda and spread rapidly to all the buildings in the compound. Above the smoke one could see demons blowing fire upon the roofs and Tengu swinging torches and setting the pagoda on fire.

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"When they saw the beams of the 'golden hall' kondō, 金堂) falling down, they clapped their hands and breaking forth into roaring laughter they went away in the direction of Atago, Ōtake and Kimpusen (three well-known Tengu mountains)." After a while two other temple pagodas were also burnt down.

In the Teiwa era (1345—1349) a travelling Zen priest took shelter from a sudden shower under the "Six Cedars" of the Ninwa monastery. While staying there he saw in the dead of night in the light of the moon people coming from Atago and Hieizan. They flew through the air in sedan chairs and all assembled and sat down among the branches of the Six Cedars.

In the place of honour a deceased Archbishop, a relative of the Emperor Daigo, was sitting in full sacerdotal dress. He had sparkling eyes and a long beak like a kite, and he was telling the crystalline beads of his rosary. At each side of the primate sat a well-known bishop. All of them had their former shape, but their eyes sparkled extraordinarily and each had two long wings. Then came an Imperial Prince in a magnificent sedan chair, also flying through the air, whereupon the whole assembly rose and squatted down reverently.

After a while a person who looked like a temple official offered them one after the other a golden cup, which they each emptied in a solemn way. But soon afterwards they all broke forth into a loud howl, stretching their arms upwards and drawing their legs together, and black smoke rose out of their heads. For half an hour they suffered intensely; then they fell down, burned to death like moths in the flame.

The monk thought: "Ah, how terrible! This will be the sufferings of the Tengu-road and they will be obliged to swallow three times a day a ball of red-hot iron." After about two hours the assembly came to life again and deliberated how they could throw the world into confusion. The Imperial Prince, they argued, should be reborn as the son of the proud Ashikaga no Tadayoshi (1307—1352), whose pride made him accessible to the Tengu. Others were appointed to steal into

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the hearts of proud priests or high officials, and sow discord ending in war. They got fairly mad from excitement at this prospect.

The Zen priest went to Kyōto and told the whole matter to a friend, who turned it to good account. For, some days afterwards, Ashikaga no Tadayoshi's wife became ill and no physician could tell what kind of illness it was. Then the Zen priest's friend appeared, felt her pulse and declared with firm conviction that she was pregnant and would give birth to a son. The others laughed at him and would not believe it, as the lady was more than forty years old, but afterwards, when it appeared to be true, he was rewarded in a royal way.[1]

In 1350 a Tengu, in the shape of a yamabushi, flew with a priest into the box of the Shōgun in a theatre at Kyōto. The astonished bonze found himself surrounded by the most distinguished personages of the capital. The Tengu and he were seated opposite to the Shōgun and ate and drank sumptuously.

There appeared on the stage a person (no other than a Tengu) with a monkey mask, dancing the field dance (dengaku) in such an extraordinarily comical and breakneck way, that the public burst out into tempestuous applause. For half an hour there was a scene of excitement beyond description.

Then the yamabushi whispered into the bonze's ear: "I cannot stand this foolish behaviour any longer; I will cool their joy a little." With these words he pushed against a pillar of the tent, and lo! the whole building collapsed, crushing all the people in the hall.

Concerning this the author remarks: "Probably Hiyoshi (the Shintō god of Hieizan) was angry with regard to this tent (that is, about the performances) (and sent the Tengu of Hieizan to break it down). Actually in the same year, on the eleventh day of the sixth month, the tent collapsed and many people were killed. Their bodies were washed away by the river, which was swollen by enormous rains."[2]

1. Ch. 25, p. 2 b.
2. Ch. 27, p. 2 b.

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At the same time a yamabushi called Unkei wrote a prediction of coming events. It was a report of what he had heard at a Tengu meeting. In 1350 he went to see the Tenryū temple, but on the road he met another yamabushi, who led him to Atago-yama and showed him a magnificent Buddhist temple, paved with precious stones and tesselated with gold. In the house of the abbot many persons were assembled, clothed either in ceremonial dress, each with a golden shaku (笏) in hand, or in the sacerdotal dress of the high priests. In the place of honour a big gold-coloured kite was seated, according to the explanation of Unkei's guide, the Emperor Sutoku. The others were also notorious persons from the nearer or more remote past, such as the Emperors Go Toba and Go Daigo and the Empress Inokami, besides celebrated priests. They all had become great demons (大魔王, dai ma-o) and the Emperors swayed the sceptre alternately over the others. They had come together in order to deliberate how they could disturb the world. The head of the yamabushi asked Unkei about the latest news from the capital, whereupon Unkei told him of the collapse of the theatre, which was considered as the work of Tengu, and also about the discord between the Shogun and his brother. In the course of the conversation Unkei asked whether the pious, influential priest Murakumo really was a Tengu, as the people of Kyōtō generally thought. The Tengu answered in the affirmative, and said that this priest had been chosen to disturb the world, and that after having succeeded he would return to his place of abode. After a long explanation of the politics of the day and of the near future, given by Tarōbō of Atago-yama, who, according to the guide, ruled the world, a violent blaze suddenly broke forth and all those assembled were in a great fright. Unkei ran out of the gate and found himself, as if he awoke from a dream, at the foot of a tree in the large garden of an old palace. As he desired to warn the world to be careful, he decided to write down all he had seen and heard. At the risk of being punished he sent this report to the Emperor.[1]

1. Ch. 27, p. 3 a.

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During the war between the Shōgun Ashikaga no Takauji and his brother Tadayoshi (1351), there came several times in the midst of the night a troop of about 500 armed horsemen, which drew themselves up in battle array. Every time both armies were startled, thinking that it was the enemy. "But they were Tengu, who certainly had caused the whole war, for *Temma* (天魔) and *Hajun* (波旬) are always lurking in such places."[1]

In all these legends it is no longer a fight against Buddhism, but it is the desire to throw the whole world into disorder which inspires the Tengu. War is their device, just as it is with the Chinese Tengu. And the latter seems even to be mentioned as the "spook-star of Tennōji." They accomplish their purpose by stealing as devils of pride into the hearts of mankind. Besides war they cause fire, especially at monasteries, which betrays the old hatred against Buddhism. They are all ghosts of the dead who are punished in this way. Their shape is human, generally that of yamabushi, but often they have the beak, wings and claws of a kite; or sometimes they have, as in olden times, the whole shape of gold-coloured kites.

§ 5.—*Fifteenth Century.*

The *Ainōshō*[2] tries to refute the assertion of the *Shasekishū*[3] that the Tengu was only to be found in Japan. The author cites some of the above-mentioned Chinese passages and that of the Nihongi, and says that all distinguished officials and priests become Tengu on account of their proud hearts.

In the *Zokukojidan*[4] we read the following legend:—

One day Dōshō, a celebrated physiognomist (相人, *sōnin*, one who told fortunes by examining the face), said to the Lord of Tamba, who made a pilgrimage to a Buddhist temple: "The colour of your face is bad; are you perhaps attacked by

1. Ch. 30, p. 1 b.

2. 壒嚢鈔, an encyclopedical work written by the priest Gyōyo, 行誉, in 1446.

3. See above, p. 59.

4. 續古事談. Author and date of this work are unknown. As the legends which it contains relate to things which happened in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, and the *Kojidan* belongs to the beginning of the 13th century, it is quite possible that it was written already at the end of the 13th or in the 14th century. *Gunsho ruijū*, 2nd ed., vol. xvii. no. 487, ch. v. p. 693.

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demons ?" The kami (lord) answered that he felt quite well, yet the seer advised him to go home immediately. At the same moment the kami fell down unconscious. After having recovered his senses he went home. Then a *mono no ke* (物の氣, a spirit) appeared and said: "It is nothing particular. As you passed before us while we were amusing ourselves, we gave you a kick on your breast." It was a Tengu trick. The kami died three days afterwards. Dōshō was in his art quite equal to the gods.

The *Aki no yo no nagamonogatari*[1] contains the following story:—

At the end of the 12th century Umewaka, the child of Hanazono Sadaijin (Left Minister), stole away from Miidera with another boy to go to Hieizan, where his friend, a priest, was lying ill. But as he was not accustomed to walking, he was soon too tired to go any farther. The other boy said: "Ah! would that somebody would carry us to Hieizan, even if he were a Tengu or a spook!" While they were sitting under a pine-tree they saw a very old yamabushi coming, carried in a sedan chair. He stopped and asked them whither they were going. When they replied he alighted from the sedan chair and said: "I am going to a place quite near to the house of that priest, so take my sedan chair and I will walk." With these words he made them get into the chair, and off they went, carried by twelve men at a tremendous speed. They flew through the clouds as birds and arrived in a moment on the Shaka ga dake, a peak of Hieizan. There they were locked up in a prison consisting of upright standing stones, where they could not see the light of sun or moon, or distinguish day from night.

In the meantime the priests of Miidera thought that the monks of Hieizan had carried the boy away. All the monks marched first to the house of the Minister Hanazono, the father of the child, and burned it down (as they suspected him of having been in the plot), and then they attacked Hieizan.

1. 秋夜の長物語, "Long tales of an autumn night." The author of this book is unknown, but according to KUROKAWA HARUMURA he lived in the Ōei era (1394—1427).

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But the monks of Hieizan drove them back, stormed Miidera and burned down more than 3600 temples. Poor Umewaka, still weeping in his dark jail, heard the assembled Tengu talking with delight about the battle of Miidera. One of them had made a poem on the ridiculous sight of all the fleeing monks. As he recited it, they all broke forth into uproarious laughter.

At last an old man was thrown into the cage, who appeared to be a dragon. As we saw already in story No. 11 of the *Konjaku monogatari* (see above p. 41) a metamorphosed dragon wants only one drop of water to be able to take his original shape and fly through the air. So this old man caught some tears of Umewaka in his hand, shook them a little and lo! at once he became a dragon, who drove away the Tengu and carried the children through the air to the capital.

§ 6.—*Seventeenth Century.*

In the *Otogi sōshi*[1] we do not find any reference to the Tengu.

In the *Shimpen Otogi sōshi*,[2] however, we find a Tengu who is drunk from eating mushrooms, mentioned in vol. ii. in the *Mottomo no sōshi*[3] among the "laughable things."[4] Further, among the "frightful things"[5] we read a story about a hunter who saw a snake killing and swallowing a pheasant. A boar appeared and devoured the snake. The hunter was about to kill the boar in his turn, but changed his mind for fear of becoming a link in the chain of consequences and being killed himself by some other being. On his way home somebody called to him from the top of a high tree, saying: "Lucky for you that you did not kill the boar, for if you had done so,

1. 御伽草子, a story-book for those who attend on the dead during the night, or for attendants who have to divert their master or mistress; 23 stories from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (comp. FLORENZ, Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur, p. 357 *seq.*), compiled and published in two editions (1891 and 1901) by IMAIZUMI TEISUKE, 今泉定介.

2. 新編御伽草子, twenty tales from about the same time, compiled and published in 1901 by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI, 荻野由之.

3. 犬之雙紙, written about 1620.

4. Warau mono no shinajina, p. 43.

5. P. 56.

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I would have kicked you to death." It was a Tengu who spoke. The hunter, very much impressed by the adventure, gave up his profession and became a hermit.

In the *Honchō Jinjakō*[1] we read in the chapter entitled "Sōjō ga tani" (Bishop's Valley), besides the foregoing legends of Yoshitsune[2] and Kakuban,[3] the following stories:—

Hosokawa no Katsumoto (1430-1473), who had no children, prayed on Atago-yama to the Great Tengu Tarōbō for a son. His prayer was heard, and Masamoto (1466-1507) was born. This son, who was a Tengu, became kwanryō (first minister of the Shōgun) in 1494, and, having been murdered in 1507, caused a curse after his death. In order to smooth down the Tengu ghost a temple was built in his honour.

In 1614 a monk of Hieizan told the people of Kyōto that a slave of one of the priests, after having been away for several days, had come home and explained his mysterious disappearance in the following way. A man had brought him to the mountain Taisen (a Tengu mountain), in Hōki province. When the man railed at the people, they killed each other. He lifted temples up and swung them through the air, whereupon they suddenly took fire and several houses were burned to ashes. Then they ascended Hiko-yama (another notorious Tengu mountain) and attended a Tengu meeting. The demons came from Atago, Kurama, Hira and Hieizan. After having discussed the approaching war between East and West (Ieyasu and Hideyori, 1614-1615) and the coming victory of the East, they all went home.

As nobody would believe the slave, he began to do all kinds of wonderful things (in order to prove that he was possessed by a Tengu). He climbed upon inaccessible peaks or on the roof of the temple as if it was a trifling matter, smote with enormous stones and big doors, and sang unknown songs. Shortly after the priest had told this the Ise dance spread like

1. 本朝神社考, written between 1614 and 1657 by HAYASHI RAZAN, who lived 1584-1657.

2. Above p. 47 *seq.*

3. Above p. 62 *seq.*

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running fire throughout the country. The people put on their finest dresses, tied pieces of gaudy silk to bamboo poles and sang and danced. They thought that the Great Goddess of Ise was coming herself. But the authorities put a stop to it, for fear of sorcery. Afterwards the Ōsaka war broke out (1614-15). All those strange things and songs had been the work of Tengu, and harbingers of war.

RAZAN remarks (l.l.) that the Tengu evidently are ghosts of the dead, who have become demons (靈鬼). He enumerates the principal ones, and puts in the first place the "Bishop of Kurama" (who instructed Yoshitsune), Tarō of Atago, and Jirō, of Hira-yama. As to their shape he says: "Sometimes they become foxes or boys, sometimes they fly in the shape of doves, or come among men as Buddhist priests or yamabushi; sometimes they change themselves into demons or Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. They change luck into calamity, and order into confusion. Now they cause fire, now war."

In the *Kamakura Hōjō kudaiki*[1] we read the following story:—

A priest called Genshō had an influential position at the Court of the Shōgun Minamoto no Yoriie at Kamakura (1182-1204). He was very proud of his unequalled knowledge of arithmetic. Once the Shōgun despatched him to Ōshu province in order to investigate a matter concerning frontiers. On his journey he passed a night in the lonely cottage of a hermit, who was very hospitable and talked the whole evening with him on Buddhism. The next morning the host said: "I am the first arithmetician of the world. I can easily calculate the jujubes (natsume) in the top of a tree and the water in a hole. Even the calculation practiced by Ryūmyō Daishi in order to hide his body is quite clear to me." At these words Genshō's pride was stirred up and he thought with disdain: "All worthless words of a frog in a well. He may be accustomed to impose upon the peasants in this way. There is nobody in the world who can surpass me in respect to arithmetic." But the

1. 鎌倉北條九代記, "A history of the nine generations of the Hōjō of Kamakura," written by ASAI RYŌI, 淺井了意, who lived 1639-1709, and printed in 1675. *Teikoku bunko*, vol. xvii. ch. ii. p. 682 *seq.*

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old priest spoke again: "I will give you, without disturbing the room, at once a proof of my art." He took the "calculation-sticks" (sangi, 算木, for forming the eight Chinese diagrams or kwa, 卦) and spread them around Genshō's seat. Suddenly the proud priest became quite stupefied as if he was sitting in a thick mist. It became pitch dark and the whole cottage changed into a sea. A violent whirlwind arose and the raging billows made a thundering noise. Genjo felt helpless and did not know whether he was dead or alive. After a while he heard the voice of the host asking: "Do you now repent of your pride?" When he humbly answered: "Yes, I do, with my whole heart," it was at once as if he awoke from a bad dream. The sun was shining through the window, and everything was peaceful and calm as before. He asked the hermit to teach him his art, but got a refusal and was sent away. When he spoke of this experience to the Shogun, the latter supposed that he had been bewitched by a fox. He sent a messenger to Matsushima, where the mysterious hermit had lived, in order to inquire whether it had been a trick of a *fox* or of a *Tengu*, but nobody could tell whither he had gone.

The *Shinchomonshū*[1] contains the following legends:—

A Tengu served during three years in a monastery on Kōya san and then became a Tengu again. "I am," he said, "a Tengu who lives in the cryptomeria and magnolia trees before the gate. Henceforth there will be no fire in the monastery." After these words he flew away.[2]

A learned Nichiren priest who was ill, suddenly rose from his bed and flew away in the shape of a Tengu, with sparkling eyes, a big nose and wings.[3]

A monastery in Kii province had been repeatedly destroyed by fire. At last there remained to it only a very poor shed. One day a priest came and told the abbot that he was willing to build a new monastery, but that it would burn down again and that only the gomadō (hall in which the goma offerings

1. 新著聞集, written in 1683; *Zoku Teikoku bunko* (續帝國文庫), vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū* (近世奇談全集).
2. Ch. x. p. 143.
3. Ch. xiv. p 198.

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are burnt) would remain undamaged. The abbot accepted the offer thankfully, whereupon the priest said that he was the "bonze of the Cryptomeria" (sugi no bō) from Akagi-yama. After his departure the abbot sent two monks to that mountain. When they asked the villagers where Sugi no bo lived, they learned with astonishment that he was nobody else but a Great Tengu. Although afraid, they decided to fulfill their mission and ascended with the utmost trouble and danger the steep mountain peak. At last two yamabushi, despatched by the Tengu, came from the top to meet them, and conducted them along a coralline bridge and up stairs of jasper to the palace of their master, a brilliant building constructed from gold, silver and precious stones. There they saw the Great Tengu, whose eyes were sparkling with a golden glare, and whose nose was enormous. He promised to descend the next year and build the monastery, on condition that all the villagers should put out their lights in the evening and keep indoors. Thereupon the two yamabushi took the messengers on their shoulders and carried them through the air to their monastery. On the fixed day the command of the Tengu was strictly followed by the villagers, and in the night they heard a noise as of a million workmen in full activity. The next morning a magnificent monastery, with all its seven buildings, glittering with gold, silver and precious stones, had risen from the ground. Although it burned down shortly afterwards, the gomadō was still (in the author's time) standing in all its splendour.

§ 7.—*Eighteenth Century.*

The *Rōō chawa*[1] tells us the following stories :—

Two Tengu, in the shape of yamabushi, had stolen a boy of eleven years. When on request of the parents twenty priests were reading sutras and performing prayers, there appeared in the cloudless sky a small object, which drew the attention of the whole crowd. From the East a big kite came

1. 老媼茶話, "Tea talks of old women," written in 1742. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

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flying and tried several times to catch the object. But a gold-coloured bird—nobody knew where it came from—protected it against the kite. Gradually the object came down and fell upon the altar of the Thirty Protectors of the days (sanjū banjin, gods of the Nichiren sect); it was the stolen boy! His whole life he remained stupid and incapable of any work.[1]

In this tale the Tengu appears in his original kite's shape, and the gold-coloured bird is probably a protecting angel whose power is greater than that of the demon. This is the first instance of the falling from the sky of persons who have been carried away by Tengu; in later sources we often read about such mysterious descents.

On pp. 325 *seqq.* a story is told about a Tengu who, as a blind minstrel (zatō, 座頭), travelled in company with a very strong man. When the minstrel stumbled over a huge stone on the road, he took it up as if it were a feather and hurled it down into the valley before the eyes of his astonished companion. The latter, who was very proud of his own strength, proposed a match. The minstrel accepted the proposal at once, and they decided to strike each other on the head. The Tengu received the first blow, but apparently he did not feel it at all. Now it was his turn to strike, but his opponent, seeing the satanic smile on the minstrel's face, quickly took one of his stirrups and parried the blow with it. The stirrup was crushed by the violent stroke. Immediately the man jumped upon his horse and fled, pursued by the furious minstrel, who uttered his rage in terrible cries. Suddenly clouds covered the sky, it became pitch dark and the rain fell in torrents. Amidst thunder and lightning and a howling storm the minstrel disappeared. All people who heard the story said that the minstrel was certainly a Tengu.

In the *Kwaidan Toshiotoko*[2] we read the following legends:—

Shortly after the foundation of a Zen monastery a yamabushi came and served the abbot faithfully from morning till

1. P. 294.
2. 怪談登志男, written by Zansetsusha Sokyū, 惨雪舎素及, in 1749.

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night. The abbot suspected the yamabushi was a Tengu and asked him whether he could fly among the clouds. As soon as he had uttered these words, the yamabushi's nose became enormous, wings grew on both his sides, and bowing deeply he said: "Give me one rule (issoku, 一則, namely, how to live well), then I will protect your monastery henceforth." The abbot did what he asked, whereupon the Tengu bowed again and went away. From that time the monastery possessed the so-called seven wonders. After the death of each abbot—and there had been already twenty of them in the author's time—a beautiful natural gravestone was carried to the monastery by the brook which was flowing past the gate. All the doors and the gate were always open, for no thief who had once entered could find his way out. There was no dirt at all, because an invisible hand swept it away. In the garden trees and stones formed beautiful scenery, without anybody taking care of them. At the foot of the mountain there was a round hole, from which in summer a cool, and in winter a warm, wind blew, so that the monks could preserve their food in summer and warm themselves in the winter time. Outside the gate there was a little bridge, and the abbot knew immediately everybody who approached the bridge by his footsteps, as if he actually saw the visitor. These were all miraculous gifts of the Tengu.[1]

In the Kwanbun era (1661—1672) a little boy was seen crossing the fields instead of following the road. At last the people of his village lost sight of him. As he did not return they beat cymbals and drums every night and called: "Bring him back, bring him back!", for they were convinced that a Tengu had taken the boy away. But it was all in vain. Suddenly the child was discovered lying on the top of the roof of a neighbouring Kwannon temple. For four or five days he did not speak a word, being entirely unconscious. At last he gradually came to and said that two yamabushi had taken him by the hand and had run away with him so fast that he soon lost his breath. They walked about a long time and after having

1. Ch. i. p. 8.

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ascended a mountain peak they arrived at last upon the roof of the temple. One of the yamabushi sang and the others played with the boy as if he was a ball. Then an old priest came and asked them to hand over the boy. At first they took no notice of the priest, but finally they let the child loose.[1]

From these tales we can easily deduce how much the nature of the Tengu had changed. Again we find them as servants in a monastery and protectors of the same. Carrying away boys had become their principal sport, just as it is to-day. Even nowadays the country people beat drums when a child is lost, and call upon the Tengu to bring it back.

The *Sanshū kidan*[2] contains the following Tengu legends:—

In 1735 a boy of seventeen years had vanished. Gongs and drums were beaten in vain, until, after two days had elapsed, he was found, asleep, with torn clothes, and with thorns in his hands and feet. It was regarded as the work of *wood devils* or wild *foxes*. But he appeared to be possessed by a *Tengu*. After having slept for a couple of days he showed remarkable learning, although he had always before been a stupid boy. He read and wrote Chinese and gave lectures on the Tengu, whom he declared to be the condensed spirit (氣) of the darkness [陰, the element *yin* (Jap.: *in* or *on*) opposite to 陽, *yang* (Jap.: *yō*), the light] of the mountains. He told how the Tengu often took the shape of ordinary workmen and carried stones and trees. Inasmuch as incantations proved powerless to drive the Tengu out of him, his relations were already about to kill the unfortunate boy, when the demon announced that he would depart and possess another person. Again the boy slept for two or three days, and after reawaking remained half-witted for the rest of his life[3].

A man, who was gathering leaves in the depths of the woods, came to a deep valley. Suddenly the sky was covered with clouds and it became pitch dark. Thunder and lightning

1. Ch. v. p. 12.

2. 三州奇談, written by HOTTA BAKUSUI, 堀田夢水, in 1764. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

3. Ch. ii p. 725.

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followed each other rapidly, accompanied by a terrible hail-storm. He cut a branch from a tree with his sickle and groping his way for about half an hour he reached with the greatest difficulty the top of a rock rising above the valley. And lo! the sky was quite clear, no cloud was to be seen, nor any thunder to be heard. When he spoke of this to some peasants whom he met, they looked at him with fright and exclaimed: "Oh, then you have been in the Tengu valley, where the dog-guests (狗賓, ku-hin, that is, Tengu) live. It is said that nobody comes out of it alive. Even if one takes only a single leaf from a tree, certainly calamity will come upon him. Neither gods nor Buddhas can save such a man's life."[1]

The *Sanshū kidan kōhen*[2] tells us that in the neighbourhood of a certain village Tengu, old foxes and mountain otters were living. The gods of the mountain and the river, the Great and the Small Yamabushi (certainly Tengu), sowed discord among the villagers because they had offended them both by rude behaviour in the woods and on the river.

A man fell asleep, sitting on a stone in the wood. When he awoke the evening was falling. He saw a broad path before him, which he followed. But instead of coming out of the wood, he got always deeper into it, till at last he reached the palace of the two yamabushi. He was received by an old man, and after a while the masters of the house arrived with a long train of attendants. A great feast with music and dancing began, and it lasted till deep in the night. The yamabushi gave precious presents to the guest. After their departure he learned from the old man that they were the vital spirit[3] of the mountain salamander and the breath[4] of the kajika, or bullhead fish. At daybreak the whole palace and its inhabitants vanished, and the pearls which the guest had

1. Ch. iv. p. 825.

2. 三州奇談後編, written in 1779. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

3. 精, comp. DE GROOT, *Religious System of China*, iv. p. 10.

4. 氣, *Rel. Syst.* iv. p. 4.

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received became mere drops of water, while the great dragon-head that had been given him appeared to be only a small curio.[1]

§ 8.—*Nineteenth Century.*

The *Tōen shōsetsu*[2] relates how in 1810 a naked man fell from the sky in Asakusa, the well-known district of Yedo. After having come to, he said that he had left Kyōto two days before on a pilgrimage to Atago-yama, and that he had been carried away by a Tengu in the shape of an old priest.

In the *Shōsan chomon kishū*[3] we read the following details:

It was in the author's time the custom among the woodcutters of Mino province to offer the so-called "kuhin-mochi" (狗實餅) or "dog-guest-cake," made from rice, to the Tengu, before they started work. Otherwise the demons played all kinds of tricks on them. For instance, the ax heads flew from their handles just at the moment they were swung, and were not found until the offering was brought. A noise as of rolling trees and stones would resound in the mountains and the rocks would tumble down. The cake was prepared and offered in the mountains in the presence of a great number of villagers. Some tree leaves were added to the rice, and after having made the offering, they ate themselves as much as they liked. The cake was never prepared in the village, for fear that the Tengu might go there and fetch it, because, of course, that was the last thing the villagers desired, the close proximity of such unwelcome beings.

In other provinces before they started work upon a tree the woodcutters chopped off a branch and stuck it somewhere else into the ground, or they carried a special fish, called okoze (anema inerme) in the bosom. When they had any trouble with their work, the fish was offered and everything went well. Hunters also carried this fish with them, and if they were unsuccessful they showed the head of the fish

1. Ch. iv. p. 921 *seq*

2. 兎園小說, written by BAKIN and seven others in 1825.

3. 想山著聞奇集, written by SHŌSAN SAI SHUJIN, 想山齋主人, in 1849. *Zoku teikoku bunko*, vol. xlvii., *Kinsei kidan zenshū*.

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(to the Tengu), saying: "If you give me some game, I will offer you the whole fish." Then the prayer would be soon answered.[1]

In 1801 a pagoda was built for Kwannon and the Niō.[2] A Tengu, angry about the cutting of his trees for this purpose, punished the woodcutters by making a heavy car run over four of them. But Kwannon and the Niō, mightier than he, saved their lives and made it so that they were not hurt at all.[3]

A boy, 14 years old, was carried away by a Tengu and brought into the midst of his feasting comrades on the top of a high pine tree. After having walked about with the Tengu for a space of three years, he returned home with a miraculous gun which never missed its aim.[4]

It is clear that in those days the Tengu had become an ordinary tree demon, who, as in all parts of the world, punished the woodcutters if they did not propitiate him beforehand with offerings.

Dr. INOUE[5] gives a story from Inaba province about a girl who in ordinary life could not use her hands very well, butshowed wonderful skill when she was possessed by a Tengu. She got up once in the middle of the night and said: "I am a Tengu. I will teach the world swordsmanship, which is declining nowadays. To-morrow a young samurai will come with a wooden sword and a razor; that man I shall instruct."

The samurai came, because the Tengu had ordered him to do so in a dream. Now the girl performed the most wonderful feats of swordsmanship, and when it became known in the neighbourhood, curious people flocked to the house from all quarters. At the pleading of the parents, who did not like it at all, the Tengu at last went away, and the girl recovered. She knew nothing of what had happened and was much ashamed when she heard of it.

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1. Ch. i. p. 405.
2. 仁王.
3. Ch. ii. p. 492.
4. Ch. v. p. 603.
5. *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, "Lectures on Folklore" (2nd ed. 1896) 3rd ed. 1897, vol. iv. p. 257 *seqq.*

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In BRINKLEY's *Japan*[1] we read:

"On the occasion of a projected visit of the Shōgun to Nikkō, in the Ansei era (1854-1860), the officials of the Yedo Government directed that the following notice should be exhibited in the neighbourhood of the mausolea:

'To the Tengu and other demons.

Whereas our Shōgun intends to visit the Nikkō mausolea next April, now therefore ye Tengu and other demons inhabiting these mountains must remove elsewhere until the Shōgun's visit is concluded.

Dated July 1860. (Signed) Mizuno, Lord of Dewa.'

On another notice board the local officials addressed the supernatural beings as follows:

'To the Great and Small Tengu and demons.

Having received orders from the Shōgun's chief officers to exhibit the accompanying tablet in connection with the coming of His Highness to Nikkō, we obey as in duty bound. Therefore ye Tengu and demons had better disperse to Mounts Kurama and Atago of Kyōtō, Mount Akibu of Tōtōmi province, and Mount Hiko of Buzen province.'"

§ 9.—*Statements of Japanese Scholars of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.*

The 17th, 18th and 19th century abound with works in which the Tengu is explained or spoken of. RAZAN's *Jinjakō* (1615-1657) is the first; then follow NOBUTAKA's *Wakan chinshokō*[2] and ANDŌ TAMEAKI's *Nensan kibun*.[3] In the latter we find the words of MORI SHŌKEN[4] quoted, who states that in the *Jizōkyō*[5] four kinds of demons are mentioned in a row: Celestial Dragons, Yakshas, Tengu and "Earth-queens" (土后).

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1. Vol. v. ch. vi. (Superstitions), p. 211
2. 和漢珍書考, written about 1700.
3. 年山紀聞, written in 1702 by 安藤爲章, *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. 續上, p. 140.
4. 森尙謙.
5. 地蔵經.

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KOJIMA FUKYU tells in his *Heishoku wakumonchin*[1] that the Tengu seize upon persons who do anything wrong (in the wood) and tear them to pieces, and that they are demons of the wood, who come forth from places where much yin-spirit (陰氣) is accumulated.

The encyclopaedia *Wakan sansaizue*[2] suggests a connection between the Tengu and the Chinese bird "chi niao,"[3] which sometimes changes into a man and sets houses on fire.

The celebrated historian ARAI HAKUSEKI,[4] like HIRATA and SORAI, calls the Tengu a mountain demon in his *Tengu-setsu*.[5]

In SORAI's *Tengusetsu*, in a chapter of the *Soraishū*,[6] we find the Tengu described in the following way: "Resembling the thundergod, with a nose like a hawk's beak, and on the head a band (like that of a yamabushi), with tiger claws, flashing eyes and wings of flesh." SORAI, in trying to explain the Tengu, goes back to the Yih-king (易經), where one of the eight diagrams (kwa, 卦) is explained as being composed of mountains, dogs and beings with black bills. "Perhaps," he says, "the shape of the Tengu has been represented after this diagram" (!). He concludes with the statement that the Buddhist priest of the temple of Eijutsu Tarō (the Great Tengu) on Atago-yama has requested him to write on the Tengu. If the demon, after having received the offering of the book from the hands of this priest, causes a wind to rise, it will be a sign of approval (quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 259).

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1. 秉燭或問珍, written in 1710; quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 248.

2. 和漢三才圖會, "Japanese-Chinese picture book on the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth and Man)" (1713), a Japanese recasting of the Chinese encyclopaedia *San ts'ai t'u hwui*, 三才圖會. Ch. xliv., mountain birds, p. 665.

3. 治鳥, see above p. 32.

4. 新井白石, who lived 1657-1725.

5. 天狗說.

6. 徂徠集, printed about 1736, after SORAI's death. He lived 1665-1728.

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TEININ[1] gives in his *Tengu meigikō*[2] the following enumeration of the Great Tengu of Japan (quoted by INOUE, *Tenguron*, p. 44): Sōjōbō of Kurama, Tarōbō of Atago, Jirōbō of Hira, Sanjakubō of Akiba, Rihōbō of Kōmyō, Buzembō of Hiko, Hōkibō of Daisen, Myōgibō of Kōzuke, Sankijin (三鬼神) of Itsukushima, Zenkigoki kimpeiroku of Ōmine, Kōkembō of Katsuragi, Tsukuba hō-in of Hitachi province, Tarōbō of Fuji, Naigubu of Takao, Sagamibō of Shiramine, Jirō of Izuna and Ajari of Higo. The word *bō* (房) at the end of most of these names means Buddhist priest, and *hō-in* (法印) is archbishop, but in colloquial it is the same as yamabushi.

MURASE KŌTEI[3] says in his *Geien Nisshō*[4] that the Tengu attack chiefly women and unclean persons who dare penetrate into their abodes, tear them to pieces and throw their bodies into woods and ravines. They also cause rain and wind, smite with tiles and pebbles, and steal idiot boys, bringing them back after a few days or a month, unconscious, like wooden dolls. He calls Kimpusen, Kōyasan, Yudonosan, Hakusan, Hieizan and Kuramayama the principal Tengu mountains of that time.

TAKAI SAIGA asserts in his *Kunmō tenchiben*[5] that the name Tengu has been wrongly given to the haunting spirits of the darkness (陰鬼, inki) of mountains and woods.

KYOKUTEI BAKIN in his *Nimaze no kizenshū*[6] divides the Tengu of China and Japan into five kinds: stars, yakshas[7], quadrupeds, mountain demons (kodama, tree spirits) and ghosts of the dead. He makes the correct remark that it is wrong to apply one explanation to all the different Tengu. On p. 1052 *seq.* we find pictures of the types, described in Chinese and Japanese books. "The painters," he says, "represent them

1 諦忍, who lived 1704-1786.

2 天狗名磯考.

3 村瀬栲亭, who lived 1745-1818.

4 藝苑日渉, written in 1807; quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 246.

5 訓蒙天地弁, written in 1791. Vol. ii. p. 76, quoted by INOUE, l.l. iv. p. 261.

6 See above p. 25 note 4, *Hyakka setsurin*, vol. iv. p. 1048 *seqq.*

7 夜叉飛天, yasha hiten.

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as men with a bird's bill and wings on both sides. This is in imitation of the shape of the Yaksha. Further, they give them the cap and the hempen robe, the vajra and the sword of the shugenja (修驗者, that is, yamabushi). As these have a close relation to the mountains, they are believed to be connected with the demons of the wood." On page 1055 he says: "Nowadays the Tengu are considered as gods, like the foxes, and are called the messengers of Fudō and Kompira. In olden times all spooks were called *oni* demons), afterwards (after the time of the *Sandaijitsuroku*[1]) *henge* (變化) or *mono no ke* (物之怪) (氣)."

There are four other works of the collection *Hyakka setsurin* in which the Tengu is mentioned. The *Keirin manroku*[2] gives several references from Chinese and Japanese books. In the *Shōkanzakki*[3] we read that Tarōbō of Atago-yama was a bishop who tried in vain to cure by his incantations the Emperor Montoku (850-858), and grieved so much at it that he died and became a Tengu (860); or, according to another tradition, he fell upon the Tengu-road on account of his passionate affection for the Empress.

In the *Matsu no ochiba*[4] and in the *Zenan zuihitsu*[5], the Tengu is considered as being closely connected with the Celestial Fox.[6]

The most extensive of all the works of that time is HIRATA's *Kokon yōmikō*.[7] Amongst the enormous mass of quotations accumulated by this scholar are several legends about gold-coloured eagles, which carried away children, reared them in hollow trees and brought them back afterwards; such children all became great scholars or yamabushi possessed of miraculous powers. As the eagle is mostly identified with the

1 三代實錄, written in 901.

2 桂林漫錄, written by KATSURAGAWA CHŪRYŌ, 桂川中良, in 1800. Vol. i. p. 696.

3 消閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中, vol. ii. p. 1045.

4 松の落葉, written in 1827. Vol. iii. p. 768.

5 See above p. 35, note 5; vol. i. p. 671 *seqq.*

6 Comp. above p. 35.

7 古今妖魅考, written in 1831.

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kite, all these tales are nothing but Tengu legends. On p. 30 he quotes an old proverb as follows: "A hawk (鷂) is the vehicle of the Tengu." "Ignorant nuns and priests and yamabushi," he says, "generally become hawks which, serving the Tengu as messengers, lurk for a passage where men are not protected by a god, in order to let the Tengu enter them."

INOUE[1] divides the Tengu of China and Japan into stars, sennin, birds or quadrupeds, mountain gods or spooks living in the mountains, ghosts of the dead or demons, and Buddhist demons (marui, 魔類). He considers the Tengu an *original* Japanese being which has nothing to do with the Chinese Celestial Dog. The latter is, according to his opinion, the thunder-beast, and its name, which appeared in Chinese works and in the *Nihongi*, was wrongly applied to the Japanese long-nosed mountain demon. There are two kinds of Tengu (p. 44): the *Great Tengu*, enumerated by Tennin (see above, p. 82), and the so-called Tree-leaf Tengu (木葉天狗, Koppa Tengu), which resemble birds and live in trees. On page 45 he quotes the work *Shikogusa*[2], which says that in the course of time the number of the Tengu became larger and larger. Accordingly their standing got lower, and they became tree-leaf Tengu. As there were so many that the cryptomeria trees in which they lived were not sufficient for them, they often took possession of the azalea and shikimi (illicium religiosum, 樒). On the same page he refers to the *Shokoku rijin dan*[3] which speaks about a kind of large river-bird, resembling *kites* and catching fish in the night in the river flowing between Suruga and Tōtōmi provinces. They are called Tengu. "This will be," Kikuoka adds, "what the people call 'the artless tree-leaf Tengu'". From this expression we learn that the koppa Tengu was considered quite harmless and not possessed of any magic art. Nowhere else, however, do we find this kind of Tengu mentioned.

On p. 46 *seqq*. INOUE treats of the so-called *Tengu-skulls* and *Tengu-claws*, which are believed by the people to be

1 *Tengu-kō*, p. 24.

2 志古草.

3 諸國里人談, written in 1746 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾凉.

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really the skulls and claws of Tengu. On the former a work was written in 1776, entitled "*Tengu dokurō kantei engi*"[1]; and the latter are discussed in the "*Tengu no tsumaishi sekkō*[2] and also by HAYASHI RAZAN (in the *Tenguron*, p. 47). The skulls, which are found on the seashore, are apparently the head-bones of a fish; the claws (sometimes found in mountain recesses) are nothing but the so-called thunder-stones or thunder-axes, the weapons of the stone-period, which all over the world are considered as thunder-axes. The above-mentioned *Shosan chomon kishū*[3] speaks already in this sense about the Tengu-claws (p. 574).

On p. 49 *seqq*. INOUE describes some deeds of the Tengu:—

(1) The so-called *Tengu-tsubute*[4], or "Tengu-pebbles", the throwing of tiles and pebbles in the night into houses to the annoyance of the inmates. On p. 61 we read a story about a yamabushi who was detected doing this himself in order to make the inhabitants of the house believe that it was a haunted house and so call him in to exorcise the demons by mantras and prayers.

Already in the *Shoku Nihongi*[5] mention is made of a shower of tiles, pebbles and earth clods, which in the year 778 came down during twenty nights upon different houses in the capital. There was nobody to be seen to whom this could be asscribed. Tengu, however, were not mentioned in those early days.

(2) *Tengu-otoshi*[6]: a sound in the mountains as of an earthquake. This reminds us of the thundering noise of the Chinese Tengu-meteor.

(3) *Tengu-kaze*[7]: a whirlwind which lifts people into the air. In the above-quoted work *Sanshū kidan*[8] we find a

1 天狗髑髏覽定緣起.
2 天狗爪石拙攷, written in 1818.
3 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849.
4 天狗礫.
5 續日本紀, written in 797; K. T. K. ii. p. 597, ch. 34.
6 天狗倒.
7 天狗風.
8 三州奇談, written in 1764. Ch. v. p. 857 *seq*.

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specimen of this kind. A woodcutter was lifted up and was left hanging a little above the ground. Blood was flowing out of his eyes and mouth. It required all the strength of another man to prevent him from being carried away into the air, and this lasted for hours before the demons let go and dropped him to the ground. According to the author's opinion, it was *not* the work of Tengu or gods of the wood, but of the spirit (氣, ki, breath) of wild animals, especially of baboons (hihi, 狒狒).

(4) *Tengu-bi*[1]: a mysterious light in the mountains, like the so-called dragon lantern[2], or fox-fire.[3] This is either sheet-lightning or the will-o'-the-wisp.

(5) The *swordsmanship* of the Tengu we noted in the legend of Yoshitsune and in the story of the possessed girl who instructed a young samurai.

(6) As a *sharpshooter* a Tengu gave to his pupil the miraculous gun which never missed its aim.

(7) The Tengu's *penmanship* is also well known among the people. Already in the *Azuma-kagami* and in many later books ignorant boys and girls, possessed by Tengu, are represented as all at once able to write Chinese characters. INOUE gives on the last page of Vol. iv. of his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi* three specimens of this so-called Tengu writing. It is Sanskrit, clumsily written by Shingon priests.

(8) *Possession* by Tengu (*Tengu-gakari*)[4] is, as we saw, very frequent, both in olden times and nowadays. Sometimes the possessed person takes even the shape of a Tengu, and his mouth and nose become enormous.[5]

(9) *Fires* caused by Tengu are numberless. Big inexplicable fires, in the first place in Buddhist temples, and also in ordinary houses, are all the results of their work. Everything strange and mysterious is ascribed to them.

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1 天狗火.
2 龍燈, ryū tō.
3 狐火, kitsune-bi.
4 天狗憑.
5 *Tengu-ron*, p. 54.

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(10) Their *bacchanals* gave birth to the expression Tengu-banquet, and their skill in *deceiving* mankind led to the calling of a false report a Tengu-rumour.[1]

As to their *pride*, even nowadays a proud man is called a Tengu.

III.—THE TENGU AND THE GARUDA.

Already in the *Konjaku monogatari* (11th century) we find the Tengu described in a purely *Buddhistic* way. This fact at once raises the question: Is it perhaps a Buddhist demon, brought from India via China to Japan? Opinion among Japanese scholars on this subject is divided.

The principal argument of the advocates for a Buddhistic origin is that the Tengu are mentioned in two sutras, the *Saddharma smrityupasthāna-sūtra*[2] and the *Emmyō Jizōkyō*.[3] The first of these works was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the year 539 and treats of the different hells, the pretas and of reincarnation in animal shape. The second, however, which is not to be found in NANJŌ's Catalogue, was, according to HIRATA,[4] written in Japan, and from a living Japanese authority I learn that it was the work of a Japanese in the Tokugawa period. EDKINS refers in his *Chinese Buddhism* [5] to a *Ti-tsang sutra* in connection with the Buddhist hells, and quotes from it a story of a Brahman maiden, who visited her mother in hell and became the Ti-tsang (地藏, Jizō) Bodhisattva. Professor NANJŌ pointed out to me two sutras, Nos. 64 and 1003 of his Catalogue, in the titles of which Jizō is mentioned, but in none of them do I find mention of the Tengu.

The author of the *Shasekishū* (before 1312) asserts that this demon was never spoken of in the orthodox Buddhist

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1 Tengu-sata, 天狗沙汰.

2 正法念處經, *Seibō nensho kyō*; BUNYU NANJŌ'S *Catalogue of the Tripitaka*, no. 679.

3 延命地藏經.

4 *Kokon yōmikō*, Ch. i.

5 P. 225 *seqq.*

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scriptures.[1] BAKIN[2] says that there is no proof whatever that the Tengu was really derived from the *Jizōkyō* five hundred years before his time.

As to the *Seibō nensho kyō*,[3] according to INOUE[4] we read there, in Ch. 18[5]: "All said that Uruka (憂流迦) (魏 says: a *Tengu*) descended"; and in ch. 40[6]: "There was a great light in the air just like a Tengu" and "it was said that a great Tengu had been seen." From these short references it is clear that it is not the Japanese demon but the Chinese meteor-Tengu which is thus spoken of. As the translations of the Buddhist scriptures into Chinese are often very free, the demon mentioned in the original text was probably quite different from the "Celestial Dog".

In the *Emmyō Jizōkyō* the different Buddhist demons are enumerated in the following order: Celestial Dragons, Yakshas, Tengu and "Earth-Queens" (土后).[7] When we compare this with the enumeration of the highest beings of Southern Buddhism, as we find them in KERN's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, we see there the Nāgas and Yakshas mentioned after the *Garudas*, "winged beings flying through the sky like lightning". No doubt there is connection between these Garudas and the Tengu. In GRUENWEDEL's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* the Garudas are described as represented in Lamaism with a fat (human) body, human arms to which wings are attached, and a horned bird's head They are deadly enemies of the Nāgas (Serpents identified with the the Chinese Dragons) and belong to the attendants of the dreadful gods. In an allegorical sense they are a kind of symbol of victory; there is a big wooden Garuda in the Mongolian mountain Adun Tselon; it is sitting on a rock and

1 Ch. viii. p. 16 a.

2 L. l. p. 1049.

3 大藏經, 小乘經, 宿 一 到 四 (small edition of the Tripitaka, 縮刷藏經).

4 *Tenguron*, p. 3.

5 This must be a mistake, for in ch. 18 (宿二, p. 1-5) this passage is not to be found.

6 宿三, p. 25.

7 Comp. above p. 80.

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is probably a memorial of some historical event. They are also represented by the Lamaists as birds with human faces and hands.[1] On p. 188 we see a Garuda, as always represented when they are cult-figures, standing upon a dying Nāgi, or Female Serpent, and piercing her body with enormous claws. He stretches out his winged arms on both sides. His legs are feathered bird's legs, his body is human, and his horned head is that of a bird with a big curved beak. On p. 26 we see a Garuda as an *eagle* or *kite* with a kind of head-dress and earrings, carrying away a Nāgi and on the same page another figure of the same, entirely human but with long wings at the back. On p. 121 the Garuda is an ornament of Maitreya's throne; the horned, bird-headed, winged demon is killing a Nāga. On p. 25 we read that both Nāgas and Garudas are able to change themselves into men.

When we reflect upon these data we discover at once several points of resemblance between the Tengu of the *Konjaku Monogatari* and the Garuda. Both have the shape of an eagle or kite, both can assume a human shape, both are enemies of the dragons and carry them away. The Garuda is also represented, as in later Japanese sources, as half human or as a man with wings; probably only later variations of his original bird's shape. But we do not read about his opposing Buddhism and Buddhist priests by appearing as a Buddha, priest or nun. It seems to me that the Tengu of the *Konjaku Monogatari* is a mixture of the Garuda with other Buddhist devils, the Temma or Heavenly Devils, whom we have found so often mentioned in the Japanese references. As to the Chinese meteor-Tengu, this is certainly quite different from the Garuda and has nothing to do with Buddhism[2], but his name was borrowed by the Japanese and applied to their demon. In

1 Pg. 191. Comp. GRUENWEDEL, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (2nd ed 1900) pp. 47, *seqq*.

2 As to the Chinese *mountain devil*, the only reference which has perhaps anything to do with the Garuda is I SHI-CHEN'S statement that the Tengu come from the Phoenix peak (above p. 29). According to WADDELL (*Lamaism*, p. 367) the term "Phoenix" is equivalent to "Garuda", so the Phoenix-peak could be "*Garuda-kūta*", as Professor SPEYER was kind enough to point out to me.

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my opinion there existed, long before Buddhism came to Japan, an original Japanese demon of the mountains and woods, having the shape of a bird. Afterwards the Japanese Buddhist priests, who liked to clothe the Shintō gods and demons in a Buddhistic garb, simply identified this demon with their Garuda, and gave him at the same time some qualities of other Indian devils and the name of the Chinese "Celestial Dog." But from China came a stream of legends and conceptions, and as time passed Chinese elements kept constantly creeping into the Japanese Tengu legends.

A book of the Shin sect, the *Shishishū*[1], identifies the Tengu with Ganeça on account of the human shape and the elephant's trunk, but this theory is out of the question, because there is no doubt as to the *bird's* shape of the Tengu.

FLORENZ says in his *Japanische Mythologie*[2] that according to TSUBOI's opinion the Tengu came from India and are at any rate known in Thibet, where they play the part of devils of hell in the religious comedies of Lamaism. Probably the Garudas are meant, because neither in WADDELL's *Lamaism* nor in GRUENWEDEL's above quoted work are the Celestial Dogs mentioned as such. Already in SIEBOLD's *Nippon*[3] we find the Tengu identified with the Garuda as well as in GRUENWEDEL's *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*.[4]

On p. 142 note 16) of the same book FLORENZ states that the popular belief explains the "*Taka tsu kami* (高之神) *no wasahahi*" in the Oho-harahi or Great Purification, *i.e.* the "calamities sent by the Gods of the Heights", as those coming from the Tengu and the Thundergod. Although the Garuda and the name Tengu were imported long after the purification formula was made, it is quite possible that these Gods of the Heights were really the old bird-shaped Japanese mountain demons to whom the name Tengu was in later times applied.

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1 指示珠.

2 Pg. 6, note 9.

3 Vol. v. p. 154.

4 2nd ed., p. 51.

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IV.—CONCLUSIONS.

In recalling all the above-mentioned references, we can follow the course of the Tengu through Japanese history.

In the *eighth* century we found only the Chinese Meteor-Tengu, which was wholly unknown to the Japanese people and was only mentioned by a Chinese priest. The kana-writing "Ama-tsu-kitsune", and the fact that the tricks of the Japanese Tengu of later days remind us very much of those of the Chinese celestial foxes, brought us to the conclusion that the Japanese have confounded these two demons.

In the *ninth* century the Japanese Tengu was not yet mentioned, but in the *tenth* he appeared as a demon of the woods and mountain recesses, who deceived mankind and decoyed them by music.

In the *eleventh* century we got extensive information from the *Konjaku Monogatari*. The fact that such a great number of legends was devoted to the Tengu proves that he was already very popular. He had the shape of a kite, but could change himself into a Buddha, a priest or a nun, in order to delude the people, especially priests, and hinder Buddha's Law. But his magic power could be overcome by strong incantations. He was believed to have come from India (because he was identified with the Garuda) and to be capable of human reincarnation. He lived in the mountains and was worshipped there by those who wished to get magic power. He possessed men and spoke through their mouths, or carried them away through the air in his original kite's shape. All his tricks were intended to do harm to Buddhism.

In the *twelfth* century the Tengu were considered the punished ghosts of the dead. We read then for the first time about the Tengu-road as a punishment of hell for proud priests, who were only devout in appearance; further, about a temple and an image of the Tengu, the "Lord of Heaven", on Atago-yama, and about the Tengu of Hieizan. No longer were they the enemies of Buddhism alone, but they also haunted the Emperor himself, whom they made blind, probably in order to cause confusion in the world. Possession of persons and speaking

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through them was very common, but there was no instance of carrying away priests or other people.

In the *thirteenth* century, again, another picture rose before our eyes. Next to the high priests who after death had fallen upon the Tengu-road on account of their pride or heresy, and who possessed the Empress as well as a little girl, we found mention of the angry ghost of the Emperor Sutoku, who became a Tengu from hatred of his brother, and of another Tengu who, possessing several persons, professed to be the Emperor Go Shirakawa's ghost and demanded worship. To be worshipped by mankind was the aim of the Tengu next to throwing the world into disorder and antagonizing Buddhism. For the first time they were called "*Mono no ke*" (物の氣 or 怪, the spirits or spooks of beings), and were considered as belonging to the same kind of beings as foxes and "terrestrial dogs."

At this time they began to appear in the shape of *yamabushi*, and also as skillful swordsmen. War and fire they caused to appear, reminding us by the former of the Chinese meteor-Tengu, which caused war wherever it descended, and by the latter of the Chinese bird *chi niao* (池鳥), which revenged itself on man by setting houses on fire.

The *Jikkinshō* is in so far more antique, that it represents the demon in his old shape of a kite, which appears as Buddha; and the *Kokon chomonshū* also describes him as still hindering priests in their religious work and carrying them away and binding them on high trees or towers. Yet there are new features among these old legends. For instance, the Tengu steal children only with the intention of vexing the parents, and then bring them back in a stupefied condition, after having filled them up with dirty things which seemed to be delicious food. There is a striking resemblance between these details and the Chinese legends we quoted above.[1] Apparently different Chinese elements, especially of demons of the mountains and woods, were more and more embodied in our Japanese demon. His penmanship, which appeared already at that time, must

1 Pp 29 seqq.

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be attributed to the fact that he was considered as the ghost of a priest, whose knowledge remained with him after death.

The *forteenth* century brought us new material in its descriptions of Tengu meetings and of the way in which the Tengu were punished by hell. They were burned either by a flaming net or by boiling lead, and after a while they came to life again. The character of the assemblies was different. In the *Shasekishū* they were only congregations of monks in a monastery, or meetings of dancing yamabushi, but in the *Taiheiki* the Great Tengu came together to deliberate as to how war could be brought about, and they showed their knowledge of the past and future.

The distinction is now made, also, between *good* and *bad* Tengu, while formerly they were all bad. The good ones were masters of the bad ones, and instructed priests regarding sacred rites and doctrines. The figure of the Tengu, dancing in the night, became quite common at that time. Already in the *Konjaku Monogatari* we read about dancing nuns in the mountains, who were believed to be Tengu; and the samurai who danced and laughed and sang after Kiyomori's death were considered as being possessed by Tengu. Drinking, dancing and singing became more and more the characteristic pleasures of these demons.

Their incendiarism was not confined to monasteries, although these were their principal prey, but was extended also to ordinary houses. Sometimes they carried away children and afterwards laid them down unconscious upon a roof somewhere. We found them in their old kite shape, or as yamabushi, with the beak or the claws, the sparkling eyes and the wings of the kite. They were the ghosts of proud, ambitious, covetous or flattering priests, or of Emperors such as Sutoku, Go Toba and Go Daigo, who all died in anger, the former two on account of their exile, the latter because he had been expelled from Kyōto (1336).

As for the mountains, that were inhabited by Tengu, Atago, Ōtake, Hieizan and Kimpusen were mentioned, and Tarōbō of Atago was placed, after the Emperors, in the first rank. It is remarkable that the author of the *Taiheiki* con-

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sidered the Tengu of Hieizan as instruments of Hiyoshi, the Shintō god of that mountain, in the case of the collapse of the theatre in the capital.

At that time we saw the demons, not only inciting men to war by possessing them, or by being reborn as men, but also taking part in their wars, either by calling out warriors, or by appearing themselves in battle array in order to mislead both parties. This reminds us of the Garudas, who were not only symbols of victory[1], but whose shape was chosen by Abhayākara in his battle against the army of the Turushkas (Mohamedans)[2].

In the *Yoshino shūi*, however, they were simply mountain demons who seized men, and whose long nose, doubtless a survival of the bird's bill, we found mentioned there for the first time.

The *fifteenth* and *sixteenth* centuries brought no new information. It is strange that the Tengu did not appear in such popular tales as the *Otogi sōshi*, at least not in the oldest ones. For the *Mottomo no Sōshi* belongs already to the 17th century (1620). He is there a common demon of the woods, who lives in the tops of trees, intoxicates himself by eating mushrooms and is dangerous to men.

The *seventeenth* century shows the Tengu, as far as we see them in RAZAN's work, as formerly, to be ghosts of the dead who became demons, and who assembled on their special mountains to deliberate about war. Murder and fire were still their watchwords. They appeared as foxes, doves, boys, priests or yamabushi, Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, possessed persons and introduced strange songs and dances amongst the people as forebodings of war.

For the first time we read about their enormous *strength*, by which they enabled men whom they possessed to throw big stones and other heavy objects about as if they were feathers. Their extraordinary skill in climbing they showed by making the possessed persons perform breakneck feats on the tops of rocks and the roofs of houses and temples.

1. GRUENWEDEL, l.l. p. 191.
2. GRUENWEDEL, l.l. p. 43.

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Good-natured Tengu, however, who protected Buddhism instead of fighting it, are described by the *Shinchomonshū*. They served in monasteries and protected them afterwards against fire, living in the cryptomeria trees before the gate; or they descended from their brilliant palaces on the tops of inaccessible mountain peaks in order to build a splendid monastery all in a night. The Great Tengu, who was the Lord of such a palace, had sparkling eyes and a big nose; his followers were yamabushi. Sometimes a learned priest changed during life into a Tengu and flew away.

The *eighteenth* century proved by the extent of the writings devoted to this subject what important demons the Tengu were in that time. They were not only the heroes of a great number of leends, but many scholars each devoted to them a chapter of their learned books. They lived on the mountain tops and seized persons who did wrong in the woods, and tore them to pieces. They were demons, coming forth from accumulated *yin* (陰) products of the darkness. In the shape of yamabushi they stole children and brought them back as idiots or at least in a state of imbecility. They put them down upon temple roofs or let them fall from the sky, appearing themselves sometimes, as in remote ages, in the shape of kite. The villagers night after night beat gongs and drums to call them and cried: "Bring back, bring back!" On the other hand, we found them as servants in monasteries, which they afterwards protected and endowed with all kinds of miraculous gifts. They showed their strength by hurling enormous stones and carrying away trees, and they were dangerous to those who challenged them. When they became angry, clouds arose, it became pitchdark, the rain fell in torrents, and thunder and storm raged over the heads of the unhappy culprits. This was specially the case in their own valleys, when men entered them. They acted entirely as tree spirits (kodama). Woe to him who damaged their trees, even if he pulled off only a single leaf! They, the dogguests (*ku-hin*, 狗賓) tried to kill him, or they sowed discord among the villagers who did mischief in their woods.

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They feasted and danced in the night in their splendid palaces deep in the mountains, and disappeared with palace and all at daybreak. Their precious presents to human visitors turned out to be of no value at all. They had, according to SORAI, noses like the beak of a hawk.

We find in all these details a mixture of old elements with new. Hitherto the wood demon, who made wind, rain and thunder, did not appear; the other characteristics we already knew.

In the *nineteenth* century the popularity of the Tengu had not decreased. On the contrary, they had risen to the rank of *gods* of the wood, to whom offerings were made to pacify them, as is the practice with all primitive peoples the world over.[1] If the wood-cutters neglected this, they met with all kinds of small accidents or great calamities. The Tengu were throwing trees and stones and rocks about so violently that the mountains shook. When women or unclean persons entered their abodes, they tore them to pieces and threw their bodies into woods and ravines. They caused rain and wind and threw down tiles and pebbles. They were responsible for the whirlwinds which carried people into the air, and for the mysterious lights which twinkled in the mountains.

They gave success to the hunters who promised them offering of fish, and transferred their own skill in shooting and fencing to the boys they stole and the girls they possessed. The tops of trees were their favourite abodes and feasting was their delight. They were so powerful that even the Shōgun was apparently afraid of them and his officials begged them to go away before their Lord arrived. Next to these mighty gods of the wood there were others who were only messengers of Fudō or Kompira, and again others, the koppa or tree-leaf Tengu, who did not possess any magic power whatever and lived peacefully in their own particular trees. These latter had the shape of big kites, just as their forefathers did in the days of old.

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1 Comp. FRAZER *Golden Bough*, second edition, i p. 187.

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Even nowadays all these ideas are alive among the country people. They still beat drums and call to the Tengu to bring back stolen children, and they offer the Tengu cake before cutting down trees. They still worship the demons in their temples on mountain tops, as, for example, on Atago-yama. Every year there is a remarkable festival at the temple called Kami no kura, at Kumano, built on the top of a high rock, and dedicated to the Tengu Takagami. Over the steep steps, which lead from the foot of the rock to the temple, old and young men hurry up and down with burning torches, and he who makes the descent first is applauded by the crowd, and formerly received a bag of rice from the lord of the castle. The hill above the temple is the playground of the Tengu.[1]

It is quite natural that these old customs should be kept up by the people. Everywhere primitive belief dies hard, and in such a mountainous country as Japan the demons of mountains and woods play, of course, a great part in the imagination of the country-folk. If a child has got lost in the woods, it is self-evident to them that it has been stolen by the demons, and if it is found again after a while in an exhausted condition, the conclusion is obvious that the robbers have brought it back. We find these ideas among other peoples as well as in Japan.[2] We can be sure that they existed here long before the coming of Chinese civilization and Buddhism. But afterwards, no doubt, these both had a great influence on those primitive beliefs.

China's rich folklore brought an enormous amount of new material to enrich the fancy of the people, and Chinese names were applied to Japanese ideas. How the people were instructed by the Buddhist priests we learned from a passage in the *Nihongi*. It is no wonder that the people, hearing all these unknown things, mixed them up and confused, for instance, Celestial Dogs and Celestial Foxes in such a way that the deeds of the latter were ascribed to the former. The original Japanese mountain demon, who had the shape of a bird, but could

1 MURRAY, *Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 7th ed., p. 392.

2 Comp. FRAZER, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 185.

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change himself into a man and play all kinds of tricks on the people, got the name of the Chinese Celestial Dog. This was possible because the latter was not only a meteor, but also a mountain devil. It is remarkable how in the course of time the Japanese demon acquired the qualities of the Chinese meteor, because he had received its name, such qualities, for instance, as the causing of war, and thunder, and bright dazzling light; while on the other hand a lot of tricks were imputed to him, which belonged to the department of the Chinese Celestial Foxes and all kinds of Chinese demons of the mountains and woods.

But there was still another mighty factor which called its influence into play, and that was *Buddhism*. The priests, extraordinarily clever in their propaganda, saw at once the resemblance of these demons to their own Garudas as well as to the other Buddhist demons and demoniacal ghosts of the dead. It was a trifle for them to annex them and to put them into a Buddhist frame, just as they did with all the Shintō gods. They invented even a Tengu-road as a special kind of punishment of hell, and erected temples and images in order to pacify the angry ghosts.

Yet the Japanese-Chinese mixture of ideas did not die out under the exotic pressure. On the contrary, the gay, strong mountain demon who deluded mankind by all kinds of tricks and killed or haunted them if they penetrated into his abode, freed himself in the course of the centuries more and more from Buddhist influence, and the present time knows him again in his true nature of demon of the mountains and woods.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

P. 26, note 2: Ming dynasty, read Liao dynasty.
P. 29, note 1: [illegible] read [illegible].
P. 29, note 2: [illegible], read [illegible].
P. 30, note 3: [illegible], read [illegible].
P. 30, note 4: SHWAH [illegible] read CHI [illegible]
P. 31, line 10: [illegible], read [illegible].
P. 32, note 1: KAN PAO 干寶, read 干寶.
P. 34, note 1: [illegible] read [illegible].
P. 35, note 2: p. 29, read p. 30.
P. 36, note 2: [illegible], read [illegible].
P. 44, note 2: p. 29, read p. 31.
P. 48, note 2: p. 24, read p. 25.
P. 51, note 2: p. 24, note 4, read p. 49, note 2.
P. [illegible], line 25, above "[illegible]" read: § 4. *Fourteenth Century.*
P. 63, note 3: [illegible], read [illegible].

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Mr. E. W. Clement related the following incidents of a climb up Mount Tsukuba:—

By superstitious people it has always been considered dangerous to make the ascent of Mount Tsukuba after eating the flesh of birds or beasts; for the *kami* (gods) hate and punish the unclean, and sometimes *tengu* (sky dogs) appear and kick down those who have eaten or done any unclean thing. The faithful worshipper, therefore, keeps a seven days' fast, in order to make his body pure and clean. We, however, were sacrilegious enough to indulge in "unclean" chicken, to strengthen us the more for the arduous climb, but we failed to meet any *tengu*. Our frequent slipping during the climb was, however, laid to the *tengu*.

On our way home we heard an interesting story about a Mount Atago near which we passed. On that hill there were formerly twelve shrines dedicated to *tengu* (sky dogs); but once upon a time another was added under the following circumstances. In a temple near Mount Tsukuba was a young boy whose old mother often visited him. On one occasion, as she expressed a wish to go to the island of Tsushima, he agreed to take her, and, carrying her on his back, he flew very swiftly to that place and back again. When they had returned to the temple, the boy said, that, as he was very tired, he must go to sleep awhile in the next room, but cautioned his mother not to look in on him. After a little, she, moved by curiosity or anxiety, peeped in and discovered a *tengu*, which at once flew away. At the next festival on Mount Atago, when the people were preparing a tray of food for each of the twelve shrines, they received orders from the priest to prepare thirteen trays, as a new *tengu* had just come. That neighbourhood is said to abound in *tengu* and stories thereof. In fact, it is one of the great *tengu* centres of activity mentioned in Dr. de Visser's paper.

Mr. Clement also related a story which he had heard the previous day from Prof. Swift, to the following purport:

A wood-cutter on a remote and lonely mountain side found a beautiful feather fan at the foot of a tall *sugi* (cedar). After examining it carefully he came to the conclusion that it was the fan of a *tengu*. Then he remembered that his grandmother had told him how the *tengu* made its nose grow by fanning it, and it occurred to him to experiment on himself. So he slowly fanned his nose repeating, "Grow nose! grow!" And his nose suddenly began to grow longer and longer until he could not bear its weight. He then lay down on the ground and the nose continued to grow. Just then he heard a great rustling in the top of the *sugi* and looking up beheld the *tengu* glaring at him angrily. He was helpless. The *tengu* flew down and seized the end of his nose—still growing—and quickly twisted it around the trunk of the *sugi*; then he picked up the fan and flew away into the depths of the forest. The poor young man was almost dead with fear and pain, and lay there thinking that his end had came. Luckily, however, he was found by a friend, who, seeing his plight, pulled the long nose out by the roots and set him free. Thus the mischievous young fellow who had dared to play with a *tengu's* fan was brought home weeping, with a hole in his face.

The President expressed the thanks of the Society to Dr. de Visser for his able and interesting paper; and expressed the hope that while this was the writer's first appearance before the Society, it would not be his last.

Mr. Clement moved, and Mr. MacNair seconded, a vote of thanks to H.E the British Ambassador for the kind hospitality of the Embassy for the meeting. This was carried unanimously by a rising vote.

The hospitality was also extended to the serving of refreshments after the meeting.

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CONFUCIAN PHILOSOPHY IN JAPAN.

REVIEWS OF DR. INOUE TETSUJIRŌ'S THREE VOLUMES ON THIS PHILOSOPHY*

BY WALTER DENING.

INTRODUCTION.

IT IS HARDLY to be expected that even the educated portion of the Japanese nation will for some generations take a keen interest in the more abstruse and philosophic speculations of the West. Neither the past history of the Japanese nor their prevailing tastes show any tendency to idealism. They are lovers of the practical and the real. Neither the fancies of GOETHE nor the reveries of HEGEL are to their liking. Our poetry and our philosophy and the mind that appreciates them are alike the result of a network of subtle influences to which the Japanese are comparative strangers.

It is maintained by some, and I think justly, that the lack of idealism in the Japanese mind renders the life of even the most cultivated a mechanical, humdrum affair when compared with that of Westerns. The Japanese cannot understand why our controversialists should wax so fervent over psychological, ethical, religious, and philosophical questions, failing to perceive that this fervency is the result of the intense interest taken in such subjects. The charms that the cultured Western mind finds in the world of fancy and romance, in questions themselves irrespective of their practical bearings, is for the most part unintelligible to the Japanese.

With a view of doing something towards remedying this defect, the Japanese Philosophical Society (Nihon Tetsugakkwai)

* Most of the matter given in this paper appeared in the columns of the *Japan Daily Mail* some years ago, and my thanks are due to the editor of that journal for permission to make use of it here.

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was founded about twenty-four years ago. The Society seems to have met with as fair an amount of success as Societies of the kind usually do in this country. No published record of its early transactions exists. For several years it contented itself with holding monthly meetings at which papers were read or addresses given, followed by a certain amount of discussion. The first number of its monthly Journal of Transactions was published in February, 1887. It contains a list of members, a general statement of the objects of the Society, the rules, and several interesting papers. The members at that time numbered seventy. Dr. KATŌ HIROYUKI was the President of the Society, and Mr. TOYAMA its Vice-President. Conspicuous in the list of members given in the first volume of Transactions stand the names of such well-known scholars as: HARA TANZAN, KANO JIGORO, KITABATAKE DŌRYŪ, MORI ARINORI, NAKAMURA MASANAO, NISHIMURA SHIGEKI, SHIMADA JUREI, SHIMAJI MOKURAI, TORIO KOYATA, ARIGA NAGAO, INOUE TETSUJIRŌ, INOUE ENRYŌ, HIRAKA SHINJITSU, and KOZAKI KODO. We gather the following particulars from the rules. Membership is confined to those who take an interest in philosophy. The meetings of the society are held on or about the 20th of each month.* The election of President and Vice-President takes place once every three years. The members of the Society are required to lecture in alphabetical order,† the lectures are supposed to be followed by discussions. The lectures are taken down by a short-hand writer and published among the Society's *Transactions*. The subscription is fixed at ten *sen* per meeting, that is, about one *yen* a year. If any member absents himself for more than six meetings in succession, after an announcement to the Society, his name is erased from the books. The principal schools of philosophy represented by the members are: (1) the Buddhist, which seems to be in the majority; (2) the Confucian; (3) the Christian; (4) the Evolutionist and Agnostic. One would suppose that with men holding such widely divergent views animated discussions

* August is excepted.

† The only exception to this rule is in the case of new members, who are expected to address the Society on the first occasion of their attendance at one of its meetings.

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on some of the burning philosophical questions of the day would take place. But such is not the case. The most antagonistic doctrines are propounded without any attempt to determine which of them is most worthy of credence. This month you may listen to a Buddhist giving his mystic and transcendental explanation of facts and phenomena; next month you may hear a Christian tracing all things back to the fiat of one Supreme Being, and the following month a modern evolutionist may be laying stress on the utter futility of study that goes beyond human experience and the inferences logically deducible therefrom. No attempt is made to reconcile theories. There is room in the Japanese Philosophical Pantheon for gods of fire and gods of water. Elements are made to lose their antagonistic and annihilative properties. Hostile instincts, if existent, do not appear: "the wolf and the lamb lie down together and the lion eats straw like the ox." Such a state of things is, I venture to think, unique. It would be absolutely impossible to conduct a philosophical society on the same lines in Europe. Men in the West are sometimes content to allow contradictory views to appear side by side in the pages of a magazine without attempting to show where the balance of evidence lies; but at a meeting where free discussion is allowed their zeal for truth, the earnestness, the depth, and honesty of their convictions, and their regard for the results which mistaken views so frequently produce would all combine to render the adoption of the *laissez faire* principle by over a hundred members of a philosophical society an absolute impossibility.

It is affirmed by some of the members of the Japanese Philosophical Society that the object of the Society is rather the collection of information on philosophical subjects than the solving of philosophical problems; that the members aim at acquainting themselves with the teaching of the various schools rather than at attempting to decide which school possesses the best system. To which it is obvious to reply that if the mere collection of material be the object of the Society, a magazine devoted to philosophical questions ought to answer the purpose. It is hard to see what is gained by men's meeting in one place

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to listen to a paper if there is nothing to discuss. It is undeniable that by avoiding discussion the Philosophical Society prevents the petty animosities which are to a greater or less extent the concomitant of anything like earnest debate. But, on the other hand, it deprives itself of the advantages invariably accruing from free interchange of opinions by educated men.

I do not intend to convey the impression that discussion is proscribed at the Society's meetings. The rules allow it, but few of the members seem disposed to take part in it, and such as are willing to do so are debarred by the practice of having two papers, each on a different subject, read the same afternoon. The history of learned societies tends to show that the prosperity of such bodies depends on their having objects in view that are neither too broad nor too narrow; that are definite in character and of sufficient interest to a certain section of the educated world to make it worth the while of competent men to write and speak about them. To prosper, a Society must have a *raison d'etre* which is unimpeachable. It must undertake some work which no other existing body of men is equally well qualified and equally ready to do. I fear that the Japanese Philosophical Society, as at present constituted and conducted, does not satisfy these conditions. It certainly fails in point of definiteness of aim. In the 2nd of the Society's rules the object of the Society is declared to be "the investigation of philosophy". Such an object is, I venture to think, far too broad and vague to admit of the attainment of very definite results. It is not to be expected that the present generation of Japanese will contribute much that is original on lines of philosophical investigation that have long been followed by Western thinkers. Lofty, but not admirable, conceit not long ago led a young Japanese, when asked what philosophical system he followed, to reply:—"I have one of my own." Such students are happily rare. The majority are well aware of the reach and the subtleties of the subject and of their own imperfect acquaintance with it. They are content to sit at the feet of COMTE, HEGEL or SPENCER and try to understand before attempting to originate. Original papers on ordinary philosophical questions, then, are not to be looked for: reproduction

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is all we can expect. And in this the Society is surpassed by individual workers. For many years the philosophical speculations of the West have been reproduced in this country in the form of translations or paraphrases of foreign works. Any Japanese who is unable to read the originals has a large choice of translations. Some of these translations are extremely well done. The papers on philosophical questions discussed in the West and published in the Society's Journal are as a rule of far too fragmentary and disconnected a character to take the place of the long treatises on these subjects that have been translated into Japanese. The Society must fulfil the essential condition of effectiveness—specialism. Its success wholly depends on its undertaking work that no other existing body of men can do as well. It must devote its energies to the treatment of the philosophical questions which the events of the last forty years have rendered urgent in this country. Of these questions there is no dearth. The adoption of Western civilisation by an Eastern State must necessaily furnish abundant material for philosophical discussion. For the adoption of an alien civilisation by a nation already possessing in its own life and institutions much that is worthy of preservation is no such easy matter as some people suppose. Civilisation is not something that can be put on as a man dons a coat, nor is it something that can be learnt by mere power of imitation. In common parlance here in Japan it is made to stand for the whole life of Westerns, and to adopt it means with the majority of those who use the term civilisation the imitation of foreigners. Philosophy may well set itself the task of showing that to *development* and developing agencies rather than to *imitation* the nation should turn its attention. It may also show that this development of man's faculties, his whole individual and social activities—the elevation of his private and civic life—is not in every case aided by the introduction of a new and foreign developing agency, that there are cases when a new application of that which is already in use is found more effective.

One of the first things Japanese philosophy has to do is to institute a comparison between the state of this country and that of the most advanced Western nations. Such a com-

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parison should include all the chief relations and phases of life. If conducted thoroughly, it ought to determine the character of the dominant principles of Eastern and Western life respectively. This process would involve a thorough analysis of Western civilisation, and would undoubtedly reveal the fact that there is great inequality of merit in its constituent elements, and hence that wholesale adoption is not wise. No Western philosopher maintains that our development is all in the right direction. Other than civilising influences have been and still are at work in our midst. They mingle with and to some extent mar some of our greatest achievements. The present state of Europe and America is by no means the result of the wisdom of the past. There is much in vogue among us that is altogether unworthy of imitation. According to some writers the intellectual development of Europe has been marked by distinct stages. An age of credulity was followed by an age of inquiry, which gave place to an age of faith, which, again, was succeeded by an age of reason. Though it is easy to take exception to wide generalisations of this kind, I venture to think that there is a great deal to be said for this one in particular; and such being the case, Japan has now no concern with any of the irrational vestiges of antiquity that prevail among us. It would be a thousand pities to see the superstitions that most of us have discarded transplanted to this country, to have our bungling and stumbling reproduced here in slightly varied forms. Of the irrational elements found in what we call our civilisation Japan stands in no need. Such of our national and race customs as have nothing more than antiquity to recommend them it would be fatal folly on her part to adopt.

To decide what in a complicated system of life and manners are the elements most worthy of incorporation in the Japanese system of civilisation is, I admit, no easy task. But it is just the kind of problem that a Philosophical Society ought to attempt to solve, being a purely philosophical question and one which intimatly concerns the welfare of the nation at large. Men endowed with the true philosophical spirit are best qualified to discuss calmly and impartially the principles which

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should guide a nation in borrowing from another. Among the members of the Japanese Philosophical Society there are some who know thoroughly well in what their own nationals excel and in what they are deficient, and who, by lengthened study of foreign ideals and actual achievements, have arrived at a fairly adequate conception of the state of society that is both desirable and attainable. Such men surely ought to be able to tell us on what things in particular the nation will do well to concentrate its energy. There is no arriving at absolute truth in any line of inquiry. Things are relatively good or bad. The same law or custom of society may work well under certain conditions and badly under others. National life is an extremely complicated thing which can never be adopted *en masse* by an alien unconquered people like the Japanese, and which can only be successfully adopted in part by a careful process of assimilation to what already exists. Foreigners who have given little attention to the subject frequently observe that the Japanese should not pick and choose, that they should either adopt our Western civilisation as it stands or keep to their own system. No advice could be more unphilosophical. Civilisation, properly understood, is pliable and plastic, and must be moulded to the nation and not the nation to it. A complete assimilation of an alien system of civilisation is an impossibility; that is, if those distinctive faculties which every nation possesses and which are valuable to the world as well as to the nation itself, are not to be annihilated. Healthy assimilation takes time, and all attempts to force the process only end in reaction. Proof of this has been seen here during the past few decades in a variety of quarters. Reforms have been hurried on before the people were educated to appreciate them. That to which the people were accustomed has been taken away without a *quid pro quo* being furnished, and consequently the vacuum abhorred by nature has not infrequently been filled up with things previously relinquished. Destruction is easy; it is reconstruction that is so difficult. The Japanese Philosophical Society would deserve the gratitude of the nation could it devise a plan whereby the best of the old life of Japan might be embodied in

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its new. The elucidation of such a subject is a task well worthy of the most strenuous efforts the Society has it in its power to put forth. This, too, would be a work to the success of which the special studies of members could all be made to contribute. The psychologist, for instance, could give an analysis of the Japanese mind, showing its deficiences and excellencies, and could discuss what the natural mental endowments of the nation rendered it best fitted to undertake. The sociologist could trace the effects of feudalism and other ancient institutions on Japanese Society. The linguist might discuss the merits and capabilities of the Japanese language. The student of art could render great service to the world by clearly delineating the special merits of Japanese art as compared to that of Western countries—and so forth. Subjects suggested by passing events are endless, and there are not wanting among the members of the Philosophical Society men well qualified to treat such in a philosophic spirit.

One thing is very certain; the Japanese mind is of an eminently practical turn—practical subjects come home to it. Philosophy that is away in the clouds may serve to amuse a few recluses and dreamers, but will fail to arrest the attention of the intellectual bustling man of the world. In all performences the obtaining of an appreciative audience is a point of primary importance.

To insure success, the Philosophical Society must, in the first place, confine its attention to what is knowable, and in the next, must choose among knowable subjects those intimately connected with the moral and material progress of the nation. The number who take an interest in philosophy must necessarily be few in any country, and, for many reasons, is unusually few in Japan. It should be the endeavour, then, of leaders of thought to devise means for increasing that number. This can be best effected by popularising philosophical discussion as much as possible, by choosing interesting subjects and treating them in an entertaining manner.

As to the kind of philosophy that most interests the Japanese mind, Dr. Inoue's three volumes which I am now about to briefly review show conclusively that it is essentially

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moral rather than speculative. In pure speculation the Japanese as a people take little interest. The tendency to select from the writings of our Western philosophers only that which has a distinct bearing on everyday life, which is essentially practical in character, is as strong in Japan to-day as it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The practical philosophy which Japan adopted from China and improved on in various ways was in former times studied by almost every educated man. It had none of the characteristics which render some schools of Western philosophic thought so repulsive to certain minds. It commended itself as the embodiment of the highest wisdom to common-sense men of the world, and especially to politicians. It was on this account that its influence on men's thoughts and lives was so immense. The fact that the Japanese mind as Europeans found it when the first Treaties were signed and they began to come into close contact with the nation was largely moulded by the teaching of the Confucian schools of philosophy whose tenets we are now about to consider, lends a special interest to the subjects discussed in this paper.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SCHOOL OF WANG YANG-MING IN JAPAN.

Wang Yang-ming, called Yōmei in Japan, was born A. D. 1472 and died in 1529. He was the first Chinese philosopher who broke loose from the authority of the ancients and claimed the right to interpret nature and its laws in his own fashion. His is the last of the great names found in the pages of the history of Chinese philosophy. He was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men China has ever produced and both as a politician and a warrior left a name second to few in Chinese annals. As a teacher he stood forth as the preacher of a special kind of idealism. He maintained that the source of all man's knowledge is in his own mind. That there is no real existence outside the mind. His philosophy, any more than that of his predecessors, cannot be cleared of the charge of being almost exclusively confined to ethical theories. In pure psychological inquiry the Chinese made little progress. The subject which chiefly interested them was man's moral nature rather than his constitution as a thinking being and his actual relation to the external universe. The distinction which Chutsz (朱子) (died A. D. 1200) had drawn between the 理, *ri*, the underlying principle of nature which determines its organisation, and the 氣 *ki*, or vital fluid, which is the immediate producer of all external objects, and which gives to them their properties, Wang declared to be without foundation in fact and misleading. The early Japanese students of Wang's theories seemed to have found some difficulty in either comprehending or appreciating his point of view. The progress made by his school was slow, and had it not been for the fact that his teaching was advocated and clearly explained by Nakae Tōju (Ōmi Seijin), it is doubtful whether it would ever have wielded the influence over the Japanese mind that Dr. Inoue claims it has done. My own opinion is that no ultra-

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idealistic system of philosophy can ever be generally popular in Japan, and I seriously doubt whether it was its idealism that made Wang's teaching so successful here. To me it seems that the Japanese are not endowed with the mental faculties necessary for the thorough appreciation of high class idealism. By the production of this work Dr. Inoue probably aims at cultivating a power which is at present in a very backward state of development. But I will now allow him to speak for himself.

My object, says Dr. Inoue, in publishing this work at the present time is to provide a remedy for the diseases from which society is suffering. The moral ideas of a nation are not the product of any one age. Those who wish to know what is the mind of the nation must study the doctrines of its chief instructors in days gone by, among whom the Japanese followers of Wang Yang-ming occupy a prominent place. The advocates of Utilitarianism are destroying our nationality. Utilitarianism may answer our purpose well as a principle of state economy (*kokka keizai no shugi*), but applied as a principle of individual moral action it is unsuitable, as it leaves no room for individual moral culture. It resolves itself into a profitless system of sophistry. The traditional principle of virtue among us has ever been the heart-virtue of each individual. There is a sacredness and a purity about this that needs to be carefully guarded.

At the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, when under the liberal patronage of the Tokugawa Shōguns all kinds of learning made rapid progress, chiefly through the efforts of Fujiwara Seiga, the philosophy of Chutsz began to be appreciated in this country, and subsequently, owing to the great influence of Hayashi Razan, the teaching of Chutsz for a time dominated Japanese thought to such an extent that the blind bigotry and utter stagnancy which is apt to be produced by the undue prevalence of one set of opinions threatened the intellectual world of that day. But happily this was averted by the introduction of the rival system of Wang Yang-ming. For a long time, however, the philosophy of Wang encountered great opposition. Hayashi Razan was a Government official,

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and his influence was so great that the teaching of Chutz was paramount in all matters connected with education. For many years earnest students of Wang's philosophy were considered rebels. But, as is often the case, teaching that was frowned on by officialdom found advocates among the people, and so it came about that eventually Wang's system attained equal rank with that of Chutsz.

The difference between the two above-named systems of philosophy, as stated by Dr. Inoue in Chap. 1. of his book, is as follows:—(1) Chutsz maintained that it is necessary to make an extensive investigation of the world and its laws before determining what is the moral law. Wang held that man's knowledge of moral law precedes all study and that man's knowledge of himself is the very highest kind of learning. Chutsz's method may be said to be inductive and Wang's deductive. (2) The cosmogony of Chutsz was dualistic. All nature owed its existence to the *ri* and *ki*, the determining principle and the vital force of primordial aura that produces and modifies motion. Wang held that these two were inseparable. His teaching was therefore monistic. (3) Chutsz taught that the primary principle *ri* and the mind of man were quite separate and that the latter was attached to the *ki*. Wang held that the mind of man and the principle of the universe were one and the same and argued that no study of external nature was required in order to find out nature's laws. To discover these man had only to look within his own heart. He that understands his own heart understands nature, says Wang. (4) Chutsz's system makes experience necessary in order to understand the laws of the universe, but Wang's idealism dispenses with it altogether as a teacher. 5) Chutsz taught that knowledge must come first and right conduct after. Wang contended that knowledge and conduct cannot be separated, one is part of the other. Chutsz may be said to exalt learned theories and principles and Wang to extol practice. The moral results of the systems briefly stated were as follows.—Chutsz's teaching produced many learned men in this country, but not infrequently these men were inferior, being narrow-minded,

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prejudiced and behind the age. Wang's doctrines, on the other hand, while they can not escape the charge of shallowness on all occasions, serve the moral purpose for which they were propagated better than those of the rival school. Though in the ranks of the Japanese followers of Chutsz there were numbers of insignificant, bigoted traditionalists, the same cannot be said of those who adopted Wang's views. They were as a class fine specimens of humanity, abreast if not ahead of the age in which they lived. No system of teaching has produced anything approaching such a number of remarkable men. If a tree is to be judged by its fruit, Wang's philosophy in Japan must be pronounced one of the greatest benefits that Japan has received from the neighbouring continent, though not a little of its power in this country is to be traced to the personality of the man who was the first to make it thoroughly known to his fellow-countrymen, Nakae Tōju, a sketch of whose life I now reproduce in an epitomised form from Dr. Inoue's pages, which contain a very full account of his life and work.

Nakae Tōju was born in 1608 A.D. and died in 1648.* Up to the age of 33 he studied and adopted the teaching of Chutsz. Wang Yang-ming's system seems to have attracted his attention on account of the importance it attached to introspection and self-culture and he soon became an earnest advocate of conscience development as the source of practical virtue. Here it should be noted that Tōju steadfastly believed in God and that his chief object in study was to find out what is true in order to practise it in daily life. Though he is spoken of as a philosopher, he had all the earnestness, reverence, and faith of a religious teacher, and it was only the ethical aspects of philosophic questions that really attracted him. His views on cosmogony were monistic, and led him to assert that the *ri* (理) and the *ki* (氣) of Wang were simply two attributes of God In this respect his theory agreed with that of Spinoza, who maintained that all the apparently various forms of being

* It is interesting to note that Spinoza and Tōju died within a year of each other. In earnestness and deep religious feeling as well as in their philosophic views the two men resembled each other.

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are but the modes in which God's existence is manifested. Of these modes, says Spinoza, all that are known to us belong to two attributes of substance, thought and matter. These *modi* have no independent existence, they are but different manifestations of the same substance. It will be remembered that Descartes had defined substance as "that which for its existence stands in need of nothing else." Spinoza declared that this substance is God. His philosophy was, like that of Tōju, decidedly pantheistic. Tōju taught most distinctly that God (Jōtei) is no separate existence apart from the forms of his manifestation, *ri* and *ki*: that is, that God and nature are inseparable. But on the other hand, the God in whom Tōju believed created the world and was capable of meting out rewards and punishments according to men's deserts, hence, he has personality. But though anthropopathic, Tōju's Jōtei is not anthropomorphic. He attributes to the Divine being omnipresence that is incompatable with anthropomorphism of any kind. According to Tōju, God prevades the universe and pervades man's heart. "The Father is in me and I in him." "I and my Father are one," are words that well express his view of man's relation to God.

His views concerning the human race were that man has one origin and hence that all mankind are brothers. But there is a difference in men as regards enlightenment. The enlightened he calls *seijin* and the unenlightened *bonjin*. As regards rank among human beings, he preached an equality as pronounced as that proclaimed by Rousseau.

In psychology he was an intuitionalist. He held that the source of all true knowledge was in introspection. Like Socrates his advice to his fellow-men was *gnothi sauton*, know thyself. He undoubtedly held that much of our knowledge is transcendental. The power of learning by intuition, (良知, *ryōchi*), he speaks of as the divinity that is within us, as is stated in Chap. V., p. 61 of Dr. Inoue's work, *Ryochi wa sunawachi Ten nari, Shimmei* (神名) *nari, Jōtei nari*. The position he took finds a parallel in the rank assigned to the human reason by Kant. His ethical standpoint was precisely the opposite of that of the utilitarian. He did not wait to see

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the effects of actions before determining their nature, but he held that the conscience, prior to all teaching and without the knowledge that experience supplies, can distinguish between good and evil. The words of Christ, "The Kingdom of God is within you;" "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the house-tops," well express the importance he attached to that inward monitor and guide called conscience. Evil, he taught, was caused by the presence of a perverted will, and in this his teaching corresponded with that of Schopenhauer, but he does not with the German philosopher recommend its entire suppression, but its rectification.

Though some parts of Tōju's teaching resembled that of certain Buddhist sects, there were essential differences between his view of human life and man's place in the universe and that of the Buddhist. Tōju was no pessimist, nor did he assign more importance to the next life than to this. The world he considered exists for the sake of man, and he spoke of no imaginary universe created by man's fancy for other purposes. Buddhism was therefore repulsive to him. Tōju's belief had much in common with that of the Christian. He believed in a personal God, who corresponds to the "Heavenly Father" of the Bible. He represents man as one with God. The conscience is God within us: so that in obeying it we are obeying God. Tōju also represents God to be endowed with infinite mercy (*kagiri naki megumi*). His doctrine of rewards and punishments in the main corresponds to that preached by Christianity. But the difference between his doctrines and those of Christ is very distinct. A supernatural world that has no real connection with man and exists apart from him, the reality of which orthodox Christianity insists on, had no place in Tōju's system. Man was the centre of his universe and Heaven's laws were all inseparably connected with man.

As I said above of Wang's teaching in China, Tōju broke the spell of authority by which Japanese thought was bound down to his time. He taught that, though there is but one *michi* for all nations, in the matter of forms and ceremonies

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great liberty must be allowed. He went so far as to say that many of the utterances of Confucius were quite inapplicable in Japan. He preached against a slavish following of the Chinese in politics and in philosophy, and he may be said to be the first to indicate the extent to which it is desirable that Chinese teaching should be adopted here. He was unwilling to admit that any doctrines whatever are binding in all times and under any circumstances, and in this he differed from Christians. He never would have accepted Christianity had he heard of it.*

To sum up in a few words the general effect of Wang's system of philosophy as taught by Nakae Tōju, Kumazawa Banzan, and others is no easy task. Dr. Inoue devotes many pages to a delineation of the type of character which the Wang Yang-ming school brought into existence and this part of his book is of great interest to a foreign reader. The teaching of Wang Yang-ming underwent various modifications in Japan. It combined with Shintō to a certain extent and identified itself with State interests. The Japanese are naturally lovers of what is pure, and so Wang's system commended itself to them in a special way. The men who belonged to this school showed an activity of mind and a steadfastness of purpose that was quite remarkable. The prevailing feeling among them was that conduct and a virtuous life are to be placed before all else. They wrote few books, their philosophy was by no means deep, nor always logical, but their lives were beyond reproach, and they had a force of character that made them highly respected everywhere. They looked for no praise beyond what their approving consciences gave. What they did they did with decision. No difficulties baffled them. They were men whom nobody could turn aside from the path they had commenced to tread. Looking back over the centuries, we can find no class of moral reformers that surpassed Tōju and his school.

Of course it is not difficult to put one's finger on weak points in the system, for no system of philosophy is perfect. Its exclusive subjectiveness undoubtedly led to abuses. Its low estimate of all kinds of authority where moral actions and

* I am quoting Dr. Inoue here as well as in other places where Christianity is referred to.

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moral feelings are concerned sometimes led to rebellion against the Government. To objective morality the Wang school of philosophers paid too little attention. The acquirement of the knowledge and the intellectual development requisite for the determination of what objectively is the highest form of virtue they habitually neglected. But notwithstanding all this, by exclusive attention to the dictates of conscience and by sheer force of will they succeeded in reaching a standard of attainment that served to make them models for posterity. The integrity of heart preached by Wang's followers in Japan has become a national heritage of which we are all proud, observes Dr. Inoue. In the West ethics has become too exclusively a subject of intellectual inquiry, a question as to which of rival theories is the most logical. By us practical virtue has been exalted to the pedestal of the highest honour. When comparing the morality of the East and the West, Dr. Inoue makes use of the following words, p. 631, *Seiyō no rinri wa shintoku no remma wo shu to suru mono ni arazu shite, chi-teki tankyū wo shu to suru mono nari.* (In Western Ethics not the cultivation of heart-virtue, but intellectual inquiry is the dominant principle). Dr. Inoue closes his volume by expressing the desire that the two methods of procedure (that of the West and that of the East) may be combined, and predicts that if this course be followed a system of ethics such as the world has never seen will result.

Dr. Inoue gives a thorough history of the Wang School, dealing seriatim with all the chief writers, quoting their noted sayings and explaining their doctrines. No such lucid exposition of Japanese philosophic thought exists in the language. The *Nihon Yomei Gakuha no Tetsugaku* is certainly the best answer that we have met with to the question, whence comes that high moral standard of everyday life with which those foreigners who are able to speak the language and who have been accustomed to associate with Japanese gentlemen are so familiar?

We append Dr. Inoue's list of Japanese graduates in the Wang School, with dates, in order to give some idea of the influence of this class of philosophers throughout the country down to very recent times.

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Nakae Tōju, A. D. 1608-1678. Kumazawa Banzan, 1619-1691. Kitajima Sessan, 1637-1697. Sani Shōan (?). Nakae Jōsei, 1646-1709. Hosoi Kotaku, 1658-1735. Miyake Sekian, 1665-1730. Minowa Shissai, 1669-1774. Nakane Tōri, 1694-1765. Rin Shihei, 1732-1793. Sato Issai, 1772-1859. Takemura Kaisai, died 1829. Yanagawa Seigwan, 1789-1858. Ōshio Chūsai, 1794-1837. Yoshimura Shūyō, 1797-1866. Yamada Hokoku, 1805-1837. Utsugi Seiku, 1809-1837. Yokoi Shōnan, 1809-1869. Okumiya Zōsei, 1811-1882. Sakuma Shōzan, 1811-1864. Magi Hoshin, 1812-1864. Kashiga Shinan, 1812-1878. Ikeda Sōan, 1813-1878. Hayashi Ryosai d. 1849. Nabeshima Kansō, 1814-1871. Yoshimura Haizan, 1812-1882. Yanagizawa Shiryō, 1816-1845. Nakajima Sozonsai, 1822.1864. Kaneko Tokusho, 1823-1866. Saigo Nanju, 1826-1877. Kawai Konosuke, 1827-1864. Yoshida Shōin* 1830-1859. Takasugi Toko, d. 1867. Azuma Takusha, d. 1867. Kumoi Tatsuo, 1844-1870. To the above list we might add the names of Katō Hiroyuki (in former days), Oshio Chūsai, and many others.

*It will be remembered that Shōin attempted to go off to America on one of Perry's ships, but was discovered in the act and executed. Almost all the Chōshū statesmen known to fame were pupils of his.

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THE NIHON KOGAKU-HA NO TETSUGAKU.

(THE JAPANESE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.)

First in reference to the title, "The Ancient School of Philosophy," it originated in the fact that the men who figured as the leaders of this school revived philosophic teaching that had long been forgotten. Their doctrines were almost all a reproduction of the teaching of Confucius and Mencius, but they rejected the deductions which in China and Japan had been drawn from the words used by these great sages. Though they are called an "old school," in one sense, says Dr. Inoue, they were a "new school," the Protestants of philosophy, who aimed at reverting to original teaching, at purifying thought by removing from it the accretions with which it had become clogged in the course of ages. The history of the school under consideration consists of the history of the lives and teaching of the three great leaders, Yamaga, Itō, and Butsu and their followers, and this fact furnishes Dr. Inoue with a simple division of the material published. The work is divided into three parts. Part. I. deals with Yamaga Sokō (山鹿素行) and his followers; Part II with Itō Jinsai (仁齋) and his disciples, and Part. III. with Butsu Sorai (物徂徠) and his school of thought. The three men differed from each other in character and proclivities. Sokō was a soldier and well versed in military affairs. The precepts and general teaching of Confucius he applied to the life of a warrior. Jinsai centred his thoughts on the development of virtue in individuals, on making known by precept and practice the type of character embodied in the word *kunshi*—a title for which we have no very exact equivalent in English. Sorai was at heart a utilitarian and spent his life in endeavouring to permeate

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literature and politics with the ethical principles which he championed. They were all three opposed to the Quietism (寂靜主義), *Jakusei-shugi** of the Chutsz school of philosophers and advocated activity and aggressiveness.

I. Yamaga Sokō.-(1622-1685). Sokō began life by studying military science, in which he subsequently attained to such proficiency that down to the very close of the Tokugawa era he was quoted as one of the great authorities on this subject. For some time he studied under Hayashi Razan and adopted the views of the Chutsz school of philosophy, but at the age of forty he came to the conclusion that Chutsz's teaching was a perversion of the actual doctrines of Confucius, and so he laboured to revive interest in the original teaching and founded a school with this end in view. He encountered great opposition from the Bakufu, which in those days would brook no rival to the Chutsz school of philosophy. He was placed under the Ako *daimyō*, Asano. By this Baron he was treated with great consideration. As a return for the kind treatment he received, Sokō instructed Asano's retainers and made such an impression on them that a most powerful school of warrior-philosophers was founded in Harima, which in later times gave birth to the 47 *ronin* type of heroes. Among Sokō's Chōshū followers was the noted Yoshida Shōin, under whom in their early days Itō and Yamagata both studied. Sokō's teaching on cosmogony and on the various attributes of natural forces differed essentially from that of the Sung school of thought. He contended that nature, 性, *sei*, is the result of the coöperation of the law of moral order, to which he applied the term 理 *ri*, and the vital energy, known as 氣, *ki*. In any sort of creation (*kaibyaku*) he never seems to have believed. He held that the whole universe had no beginning and that it can have no end. He thought that the language used in reference to nature's processes, such terms as life and death, growth and

* Dr. Inoue applies the term "quietism" to certain views of the philosophers of the Chutsz school. But I doubt whether the use of the term in this sense is allowable. I have never met with an instance in the writings of English philosophers of such an application of a term used to denote the mystical doctrines of a sect of religious devotees, originated by Molinos, a Spanish priest.

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decay, are all misleading, and he boldly says that there is nothing to which the terms life and death should be applied, *shini, iku to nazukubeki mono nashi.* But more interesting perhaps than his notions on the laws of the universe, which, when explained by resort to such extremely plastic terms as *ri, ki, sei* and *Ten*, lack all scientific, and even philosophic, precision, are Sokō's ethical ideas. He was, as Dr. Inoue points out, a thorough-going utilitarian. For many years the contemporary of the great English philosopher Hobbes, but without even knowing of his existence, Sokō reached the same conclusions as those arrived at by this deep thinker as to the principle which consciously or unconsciously guides men in their choice of courses of action to be followed. In commenting on the distinction drawn by Confucius between 義, *gi*, and 利, *ri*, that which is right and that which is beneficial to the person concerned, Sokō says that if a man aims at always doing what he thinks to be right, benefit will come to him of itself. He goes on to observe that it is no use pretending that a man can treat with indifference his own gain or loss in pursuing a certain course of action. *Hito wa mina ri wo konomi, gai wo nikumu. Kono rigai no kokoro arazareba, karekito onaji, hito ni arazu. Ninjō wa mukashi mo, ima mo, doko mo onaji koto,* &c. "People all like that which benefits them and dislike that which harms them. If a person can be found who possesses not a mind that thinks of profit and loss, such a being is no better than a withered tree. Man he is not. The feelings of mankind in reference to this have in all places and all times been the same." This is equivalent to saying that the utilitarian standard of conduct has always been the ultimate one, though in another passage he guards against the danger of giving to the term utility too narrow a meaning. Sokō was a staunch nationalist and he condemned in strong terms the tendency of his contemporaries to praise everything that was foreign and to depreciate things native. "Our scholars," says he, "have an evil habit of believing their ears, but not their eyes, of rejecting what is near at hand and adopting what hails from a distance." All the transcendental and mystical notions that had been combined with Confucianism by the

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Sung school of philosophers Sokō rejected, and affirmed that Confucius' teaching was only designed for practical use in political and social life and that philosophic theories are outside the proper scope of the Confucian ethical system.

Dr. Inoue draws attention to the fact that Sokō was one of the great founders of the Bushidō. He speaks of him as the *Verkörperung*, or incarnation, of the famous code. The books Sokō published on this subject, says Dr. Inoue, may be said to form a kind of Bushidō Constitution. As a philosopher Sokō's teaching was neither as positive nor as thorough as that of Jinsai and Sorai. He cannot be said to have given any very new ideas to the world, but neverthless his personality was a very strong one, and what he believed he had the art of making others believe too. On p. 129 *et seq.* of Dr. Inoue's work will be found a full list of works of reference on the life aud teaching of Yamaga Sokō.

II. Itō Jinsai,—(1627-1705). Jinsai began to study under a teacher at the age of 11. When he reached the age of 19 his proficiency was recognised to be something phenomenal. But it was not till 19 years later that he determind to reject what is known as the Sung teaching and do his best to concentrate men's minds on the unadulterated truths proclaimed by Confucius. Born in 1627, he lived to the ripe age of 78, and perhaps it is true to say that few men in old Japan wielded such a powerful influence over contemporaries and posterity as Jinsai. In reference to Jinsai's theories, on cosmogony he taught that all things may be traced to one source, that source being an all-pervading and all-powerful energy. This force he terms 元 気, *Genki* (original, vital energy). He speaks of the universe as *ichi dai kwatsubutsu*, a great living thing. It begets, but was not begotten. The followers of Chutsz, Lautsz and the Buddhists represent the universe as a dead thing. Jinsai's saying that the universe is a living thing is founded on the general teaching of the 易, *Yeh*, which describes the endless changes wrought by the above-named "original energy." This is no other than the eternal flux on which Heraclitus

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dwelt so much. "All things flow" said this Greek philosopher. Things exist only in transition was what he taught, and this is the doctrine of the *Yeh*.

The points of difference between the teaching of the philosophers known as the Sung school (called after the 宋, *Sung*, era A.-D. 960-1280), which included the followers of Chutsz, Lautsz and many Buddhist schools, and that of Jinsai, are thus summarized by Dr. Inoue. The Sung philosophers held that the world began with a governing principle, 理, just as Plato taught that it began with an idea, and that the vital energy known as *ki* came afterwards. But Jinsai taught that the energy came first and that what the philosophers describe as the fundamental principle of the universe is nothing but the law that governs the working of the vital energy called *ki*. The *ri* has no existence as a producer of the universe nor does it actually control the operations of nature.* The fact is, however, remarks Dr. Inoue, Jinsai and his opponents, the Sung philosophers, use the term *ri* in different senses. Jinsai's *ri* is the equivalent of *rihō*, or natural law, which he maintained has no existence apart from the things and operations which it governs, but his opponents maintained that before the actual universe came into existence the principle on which it is based existed and that this existence was as real as is the existence of the universe itself.† The two schools differed as to the term of the existence of the universe. Jinsai taught that the universe is without beginning and without end. All accounts of creation such as the one given by Chutsz are rejected by him. Then they also differed on the question as to whether nature is to be described as in a perpetual

* Here it is hard to follow the reasoning of Jinsai; for it is evident that the designs of things exist before the things themselves, and in very complicated structures and machines the design may be said to be more important than the energy that brings the creation of the mind into actual, substantial existence. The idea is the actual original, as the existence of the thing depends on the nature of the design.

† The various meanings given to 理 by different philosophers are most perplexing. With the Sung School it seems to have stood for the principle of organisation by which matter is preserved or the Power that inheres in it to direct it, which in Chinese books on philosophy is sometimes defined as 神, God.

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state of activity or in a perpetual state of quiet. Nature is ever begetting, ever transforming, ever reproducing old things in new forms, said Jinsai. There is no such thing as death in reality—there is an identity in the apparent contradiction of all things. To all the operations of nature Jinsai attached great importance. The Sung school, on the other hand, regarded the material universe as quite unreal. Certain Buddhists whose teaching was followed by the philosophers of this school maintain that the true view is to regard emptiness as the final state of all things. To the Buddhists the material universe has no real existence. It is all described as 幻妄, *gembō*, visionary, imaginary.

Coming to ethics, the definition given of the term *michi* or "way" by the two schools now under comparison differed considerably. The Sung school of philosophers said that the *michi* is 性, *sei*, nature. They also taught that it is *ri*, using the term as the equivalent of the rational or right rule of action. Jinsai maintained that such a use of the various terms was most confusing; so he began by defining the word *michi*, as the proper course of conduct for men to follow, and he said *michi wa jingi* (仁義) *nari*. "The proper course for men to pursue is to act kindly and justly." He objected to a distinction being drawn between practical ethics and ideal ethics, between that to which men actually attained and that at which they aimed. The Sung philosophers spoke of an ideal path of virtue; to which they gave the term 至道, *shidō*, the highest way. Jinsai said:—*Jōdō wa sunawachi shidō nari*. "The ordinary path of virtue (that is the everyday conduct of good men) is the highest path." He maintained that there is too much vagueness, uncertainty and unreality attached to the ideal ethics taught by the Sung philosophers. A thing which only exists in idea does not specially concern practical men, said Jinsai. What in these modern days we call humanity was the central idea of Jinsai's system of ethics. Jinsai knew of no learning disconnected with morals, and deemed no subject worth studying unless it were connected with the furtherance of virtue in oneself or in others. Some subjects, such as economy, for instance, he thought could not be studied without harm. He taught that

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politics and morals are inseparably connected with each other. His educational system in many ways resembled that advocated by Rousseau. He argued in favour of adapting teaching to the individual capacities and proclivities of the pupil. Teaching, he said, should be altered to suit the pupil, rather than the pupil altered to suit the teaching. To produce different types of character was one of his aims in teaching.

Dr. Inoue thinks that Jinsai's theory concerning the activity of the universe resembled in some respects the modern theory of evolution, and that Jinsai's teaching regarding the possibility of a man's making his own virtuous conduct a governing principle resembles the doctrine of Green and Muirhead, known as the theory of self-realization. Though Jinsai's thoughts are clear as far as they go, he is by no means logical, observes Dr. Inoue. Two of his great defects were over-confidence in individuals and the adoption of the Chinese mistaken view as to the identity of morality and ordinary subjects. His teaching on nature was perhaps materialistic in tendency, but his teaching on morals was undoubtedly idealistic.

On p. 322 *et seq.* of Dr. Inoue's work a list of reference books, including over 50 volumes on Jinsai's Life and Teaching, will be found. Nothing could be more thorough or painstaking than the manner in which Dr. Inoue has compiled his history. Dr. Inoue furnishes short accounts of the schools of thought founded by Jinsai and biographical notices of Nakae Minzan, Itō Tōkai, Namikawa Temmin, Hara Sōkei and Hara Tōgaki.

III. Butsu Sorai. (1666-1728). It is said that Sorai was able to read at the age of 5 and that at the age of 9 he composed poetry. He studied later on under Hayashi Shunsai and Hayashi Hōkō. His parents were very poor and for some time he subsisted on *tofu no kara* (bean-curd refuse). But nothing damped his ardour and he read book after book with astonishing eagerness. His studies covered a far wider area than those of Sokō and Jinsai. He read books on language, military science, economy, politics and music, and at Nagasaki he made a special study of Chinese and attained the art of reading and understanding Chinese in Chinese fashion without

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construing it into Sinico-Japanese as is usually done, and he became a great opponent of the Japanese practice of altering the order of the words in a Chinese sentence, maintaining that the sense is injuriously affected by the adoption of this method of reading Chinese books. He attempted to inaugurate a general reform in this matter, but without much success. He became the master of a rare style, which possessed many of the superior qualities of classical Chinese. Born in 1666, Sorai died in 1728. His life was laid out on a wider scale than was the case with either of the two leaders whose lives are discussed above, and he aimed at turning out men of courage and character rather than moralists. In philosophy a perusal of the writings of Itō Jinsai persuaded him that the popular Chutsz teaching was all on the wrong track, though subsequently he attacked Jinsai. Notwithstanding that Sorai's teaching is usually denominated Sorai-*gaku*, most of his tenets came from 荀子, Shuntsz. He disregarded the teaching of Mencius and followed Shuntsz implicitly. His doctrine that man's nature was originally evil, and his contention that morality originated with the teaching of certain sages or moralists were both derived from Shuntsz. His views on morals resembled in many particulars those of Thomas Hobbes, as I shall show later on. Morality Hobbes regarded as the direct result of the Political State. That is good which is sanctioned by the absolute power in the State; the reverse, evil. He argues that religion and superstition have this in common that they both imply the fear of imaginary Powers; the difference between them consists in the fact that the fear or worship of imaginary Powers recognised by the State is religion; that of those not recognised, superstition. This was precisely the view of Sorai, as will appear later on. Dr. Inoue goes into a comparison of Sorai's views with those of Shuntsz, in confirmation of the above statements, for which I have no space here.

The difference between the teaching of Sorai and that of Sokō and Jinsai was very marked. The moral system of the latter philosophers was essentially subjective and individualistic; that of Sorai was decidely objective. He says, *Michi wa jimmin wo osamuru ni hitsuyō naru dōgu wo iu nari.*

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"Morality is nothing but the necessary means for controlling the subjects of the empire." It did not originate with nature nor with any impulses of man's heart, but it was devised by the superior intelligence of certain sages (*seijin*), and authority was given to it by the State. Morality may be regarded as a *jutsu*, a device or art for governing people. Sorai actually speaks of morality as *kodai dōjutsu* (the moral arts used by the ancients). Sages, says Sorai, is a title given to manufacturers, to the men who framed laws, rules, moral maxims and precepts for other men. These sages were in every way superior to ordinary men and no amount of study will suffice to raise a man to the level of a sage. There was in the character of these sages a combination of remarkable traits, and this combination it was that constituted their greatness. Their imitators may succeed in cultivating certain of their moral and intellectual qualities, but they cannot reproduce the type as a whole. In China Confucius had no equal. Such men as Chingtsz and Chutsz were but poor imitators of him and when men like our Jinsai and others aspire to figure as sages, we see how vain is the attempt, argued Sorai. They follow the great sage, but a long, long way off. To try and adopt the ideas of the great teacher and carry them out in daily life, this one can do, but this is very different from setting oneself up as an authority.

One of the distinctive features of Sorai's teaching was his insistence on the changelessness of the fundamental traits of men's characters. Men are born, he said, good-tempered or bad-tempered, sanguine or phlegmatic. There are certain strong proclivities in the nature of every man. These may be modified, but they can not be eradicated.* He said when speaking of this stability of character, *Kore henzubekarazu; shikaredomo utsuru mono nari.* "This can't be changed, but it alters

* This reminds one of a striking passage in Bk. IV. of the Analects of Confucius, which in the Japonicised version runs thus: *Umarete shikōshite (or umare nagara ni shite) kore wo shiru mono wa, kami (上) nari; manande shikōshite kore wo shiru mono wa sono tsugi nari.* "He who is born with knowledge (the genius) ranks first; he who acquires knowledge by study comes next." It is the contention of Sorai that no amount of study or effort will raise the second class of men to the rank of the first. Great moralists, like great poets, are born, not made.

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(somewhat)." And, according to Sorai, it is this capability of limited alteration that affords an opportunity for the moralist to step in with his improving arts and devices. This doctrine of the permanency of character Sorai had the honour of being the first to proclaim in Japan, observes Dr. Inoue. Among Western philosophers it has been much dwelt on. It was a leading characteristic of Schopenhauer's teaching. Nietzsche warns us against pushing the doctrine too far. The changelessness is not absolute, he says. Wundt maintains that man's character consists of two distinct elements, one that is inherited and the other that comes from education and experience. The latter may change, but not the former. It is certainly one of the duties of a moralist to indicate clearly what he considers orthodox in teaching and what heterodox. This the Sung school of philosophy neglected to do, but in Sorai's writings this is done in the clearest manner: In the whole of the Sung teaching there is much that is left to conjecture. In defining virtue Sorai refers to the definition of Mencius thus. "Mencius says, *Hossubeki, kore wo zen to iu.* 'That which ought to be (is worthy of being) desired is virtue.' But this is by no means the teaching of the sages." Then Sorai proceeds thus: *Oyoso hito wo riyeki shi, tami wo sukūbeki mono, mina kore wo zen to iu, kore shūjin* (*the many*) *no hossuru tokoro naru ga yuye nari.* * From this it appears that utility or the "greatest happiness," was the principle to which Sorai finally appealed. He held that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote the highest welfare of the largest number of people, wrong when they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. So that Sorai recognizes no standard of right and wrong apart from the well-being of the community in which each person lives. His system of morality, in contrast to the teaching of the whole Sung School of philosophers, was full of public spirit, and it condemned the introspective, individualistic subjectivism which to a large extent characterized the teaching of Sokō and Jinsai.

Sorai enjoined on his disciples a spirit of quiet acquiescence in the decrees of Heaven. Peace of mind, says he, comes

* "All that benefits men, all that saves people is virtue, because it is something that the majority desire."

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from bowing to the will of Heaven in all things. Resignation is one of the virtues that all followers of Confucius ought to cultivate. To Sorai it appeared that the essence of Confucianism was political; that its chief object is the establishment of good government by the employment of men whose moral characters are in a high state of development. The theory that good government depends principally on the men employed rather than on laws and rules may be said to represent the conviction of modern English statesmen. Modern Egypt, modern India and other countries that might be named have been to a very large extent the creations of highly endowed and strong-willed administrators. The much-laughed-at, antiquated Chinese knew the secret of government two thousand years ago.

The following are some of the chief points of difference between Sorai's teaching and that of the Sung School of philosophers enumerated by Dr. Inoue:—

SORAI.	THE SUNG PHILOSOPHERS.
1.–Source of knowledge, the teaching of the ancients.	1.–The deductions of reason.
2.–Morality consists in the cultivation of politeness, music and the observance of law and political principles (禮樂刑政).	2.–Morality consists in 理 *ri*, rationality.
3.–Morality was invented by the ancient sages.	3.–Morality is derived from man's original nature and is transcendental.
4.–Character is unchangeable.	4.–Character may be changed.
5.–Great attention should be paid to literary style and the like.	5.–Knowledge of one's own heart and the development of the reasoning faculties are more important than outward forms.
6.–The principle of activity.	6.–Quietism.
7.–The chief aim of teaching is good government.	7.–The chief aim of teaching is moral attainment.

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The differences between the teaching of Jinsai and Sorai are thus stated by Dr. Inoue. (1) Jinsai made *jin* and *gi*, benevolence and justice, the basis of his system of morality, but Sorai made *rei*, *gaku*, *kei*, *sei* (ceremony, music, law, and politics) his basis. (2) Jinsai rejected utilitarianism; Sorai adopted it. (3) Jinsai maintained that morality evolves itself naturally. Sorai taught that it is an artificial production. (4) Jinsai accorded the highest honour to a virtuous life; Sorai thought the highest attainment was good government. (5) Jinsai advocated an investigation of principles of various kinds. Sorai discouraged this. (6) Jinsai aspired to follow in the path of the ancient sages; Sorai thought this unattainable. (7) Jinsai honoured Mencius, but Sorai had no regard for him whatever. The attitude of the two philosophers to the Sung school of thought was not the same. Though Sorai was directly opposed to it, Jinsai was by no means so. There were points on which he agreed with the philosophers of this school. What is known as the Sung-*gaku* was a compound of the teaching of Shaka and Lautsz. Both Jinsai and Sorai derived their teaching from Confucius, but they both used a medium. Mencius was Jinsai's medium and Shuntsz was Sorai's. As for originality of thought and suggestiveness, there is much more of this in the writings of Sorai than in those of Jinsai. Dr. Inoue enumerates on p. 632 five particulars in which Sorai's teaching was most clear and pronounced. (1) He was the first to expound the utilitarian* basis of ethics. (2) He was the first to enunciate sociological principles. (3) He was the first to point out how much of the current morality is artificial, in the sense of being the product of human brains. (4) He was the champion of the principle of *laissez faire*, of non-interference with things that only concern special individuals, that is, he was an advocate of a certain amount of liberty of action. (5) He was in favour of positive principles. After observing that the sociological character which Sorai

* The term utilitarian is comparatively modern. John Stuart Mill says in a note to his Essay on Utilitarianism: "The author of this essay has reason for believing himself to be the first person who brought the word utilitarian into use. He did not invent it, but adopted it from a passing expression in Mr. Galt's *Annals of the Parish*."

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gave to morals renders him one of the brightest lights among Oriental philosophers, Dr. Inoue proceeds to compare the teaching of Thomas Hobbes and Sorai, showing by quotations that in four particulars the two philosophers were in substantial agreement.

Thomas Hobbes was born in 1588, the year of the coming of the great Armada, and died in 1679. Butsu Sorai, as stated above, was born in 1666 and died in 1728. So that for 13 years at any rate the two philosophers were contemporaries. A comparison of Hobbes' views as stated in his greatest work the *Leviathan* and in the earlier and shorter work the *De Corpore Politico* with Sorai's writings shows in a very striking manner how two thinkers on opposite sides of the world reached the same conclusions on politics, philosophy and morals. Dr. Inoue notes the following four particulars in which the views of the two philosophers agreed. (1) They both regarded man's original nature as egoistic and maintained that as each man follows the bent of his egoism, endless conflict between individuals is unavoidable. (2) They both considered that morality comes into existence for the first time when a State has a permanent form of government and a fixed system of law. (3) Both held that law and government should be decided on by despotic monarchs alone. Both argue in favour of fixed despotism. (4). Both maintained that actions are not in themselves good or bad. Their nature can only be determined by an appeal to civil authority. In his *De Corpore Politico*, p. 225, Hobbes says:— "The civil laws are to all subjects the measures of their actions, whereby to determine, whether they be right or wrong, profitable or unprofitable, virtuous or vicious; and by them the use and definition of all names not agreed upon, and tending to controversy shall be established." Hobbes in the West and Sorai in the East revolutionised thought in many important respects. Spinoza took Hobbes as his master in departments of thought in which he was masterly and constantly showed his influence. Leibnitz extolled him. Harrington speaks of him as "the greatest of new lights." Diderot, after reading for the first time Hobbes' treatise *On Human Nature*,

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by no means his greatest work, writes :—" How diffuse and flabby seems Locke, how poor and petty La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère in comparison with this Thomas Hobbes." The political views of both Hobbes and Sorai have been discarded. but the system of Utilitarian philosophy founded by these two thinkers has since their time undergone marvellous development and to-day commands the homage of many distinguished men throughout the Western and Eastern worlds.

In summing up the results of his investigations, among other things, Dr. Inoue says :—The movement which was led by the Kogakuha was no other than our Japanese *renaissance*. Up to that time our learned world was ignorant of the fact that that which passed as Confucianism was not the genuine article. But what is to be regretted in this movement was the excessive worship of the personality of Confucius. If, as the Sung school of philosophers urged, the teachers whose lives we have been considering had borne in mind that truth is greater than even Confucius and had criticised his sayings and his personality, they would have supplied to their generation germs of progress which it sadly needed. To proclaim the greatness of ideas is one thing; to associate those ideas with a single individual who lived a long time ago and to exalt that person to a pedestal of honour that is declared to be unapproachable is quite another. This is no other than to make men worship the past and care little for the future. What was wanted then in Japan, and what is wanted now in China, is the severance of ideas from association with any special person or time and the demonstration of their universal applicability. Dr. Inoue quotes Kant's views on the autonomic and heteronomic sides of morals and argues that these two aspects of ethics, which are expressed by the Japanese terms,–*jiritsu*, and,–*taritsu*, were fully recognized by Jinsai, though he never attempted to harmonize them. He thinks that Jinsai's *naibu-teki* corresponded to Kant's *Maxime* and his *gwaibu-teki* to Kant's *Moralische Gesetze*. Dr. Inoue writes very fully on the merits and demerits of the leaders of the Kogakuha, and his observations will doubtless prove of great value to Japanese scholars.

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On p. 731 *et seq* there is a long list of names of the graduates of the schools of the three great men whose teaching has been discussed, with dates, which I give below. Among the 47 *rōnin* were two of the followers of Yamaga Sokō, namely Ōishi Yoshio and Onodera Hidekazu. Hirai Tōsen, (A.D. 1642-1715); Onodera Hidekazu, (1643-1703); Ogata Ibun, (1645-1722); Kitamura Tokushō, (1646-1718); Ogawa Rissho, (1649-1688); Isono Chikuzen, (1654-1708); Arikawa Tensan, (1654-1735; Nakae Minzan, (1655-1726); Inao Jakusui, (1655-1715; Matsuoka Joan, (?-?); Itō Kosetsusai, (1657-1727); Kasawara Unkei, (?-?); Nakajima Fuzan, (1658-1727); Hayashi Gitan, (?-?); Kagawa Shūan, (?-?); Ōmachi Tonso, (1659-1729); Ōishi Yoshio, (1659-1703); Tanaka Kantai, (1662-1729); Itō Mokuan, (1663-1729); Toriyama Kenan, (1664-1711); Watanabe Genan, (1664-1722); Itakura Fukuken, (1665-1728); Tanaka Tosen, (1665-1732); Mitani Nansen, (1665-174; Tsuruta Shigesada, (?-?); Arakida Seikwan, (?-?); Butsu Sorai, (1666-1728); Namikawa Seisho, (1668-1738); Kageyama Tōmon, (1669-1732); Itō Tōgai, (1670-1736); Butsu Hokkei, (1670-1754); Ochi Heian, (?-?); Matsuzaki Rankoku, (1674-1735); Watarai Sueshige, (1675-1733; Miye Shōan, (1674-1734); Utsunomiya Keisai, (1676-1724); Irie Nammei, (1676-1765); Yoshimura Tensen, (?-?) Ono Hokkai, (?-?); Itakura Ranken, (?-?); Itakura Ryōshū, (?-?); Tani Gentan, (?-?); Ukawa Tōken, (1678-1758); Tamikawa Temmin, (1679-1618); Dazai Shuntai, (1680-1747; Kinoshita Rankō, (1681-1752); Tsuji Konan, (?-?; Itō Nanshō, (?-?); Matsuzaki Hakkei, (1682-1753; Asano Bunan, (?-?); Katsuragawa Shunsen, (?-?); Hayashi Kagenori, (?-?); Nakajima Genzō, (?-?); Itō Baiu, (1673.1744); Andō Tōya (1683-1719); Itō Kaitei, (1685-1772); Ochi Ummu, (1686-1746); Sawamura Kinsho, (1686-1739); Shinozaki Tōkai, (1686-1739); Yamagata Shūnan, (1687-1752); Hirano Kinka, (1688-1732); Miura Chikukei, (1689-1756); Narushima Kinkō, (1689-1760); Suganuma Tōkaku, (1690-1763); Takami Sokyū, (1690-1735; Mizuashi Heizan, (?-?); Honda Chūtō, (1691-1757); Sumie Soro, (1691-1728); Shibayama Hōrai, (1692-1771); Itakura Kōkei, (?-?); Ishikawa Taibon, (?-?); Itō Chikuri, (1692-1756); Hattori Nankaku, (1693-1759); Moriya Gabi, (1693-1754);

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Itō Rangū, (1694.1778); Tō Hoshū, (1696-1765); Sugaya Kantoku, (1696-1764); Yo Yūji, (1697-1776); Kimura Hōgo, (1697-1772); Aoki Konyō, (1698-1769); Nemoto Bui, (1699-1764); Shaku Taichō, (1676-1768 ; Shaku Banan, (?-1739); Akimoto Tanyen, (?-?); Yoshida Kozan, (?-?); Tanaka Ranryō, (1699-1734); Okai Kenshū, (?-?); Hikida Kyūkō, (1700-1738); Chō Genshū, (?-?); Butsu Kinkoku, (1703-1776); Okuda Sankaku, (1703-1783); Odamura Rokuzan, (1703-1766); Kō Rantei, (1707-1757); Yasuhara Rinkwan, (?-?); Kakiuchi Yugaku, (?-?); Asai Kiuka, (?-?); Tani Bizan, (?-?); Hozumi Nōkaisai, (?-?); Mizuashi Hakusen, (1707-1732); Kō Seiku, (1712-1752); Yamada Rinyo, (1712-1735); U Sensui, (1713-1776); Suiyama Nantō, (?-?); Hirose Ippō, (?-? ; Matsunami Teisai, (?-?); Andō Shigakusai, (?-?); Ogawa Tokusho, (?-? ; Ryō Sōryo, (1714-1792); Suzuki Tanshū, (1715-1776); Kō Yōkō, (?-?); Kimura Hōrai, 1715-1765); Tsuchiya Ranshū, (?-?); Chō Nanzan, (?-?); Kuzumi Kagaku, (?-?); Hara Sōkei, (1718-1767); Uno Shirō, (?-?); Yamanouchi Kindai, (1724-1746); Matsumura Baikō, (?-?); Matsuzaki Kankai, (1726-1775); Tachibara Tōmō, (1726-1789); Hara Tōgaku, (1729-1783); Itō Toshō, (1730-1804); Shibayama Yoshō, (1730-1767); Butsu Seizan, (?-?); Saitō Shizan, (1743-1808); Kamei Nammei, (1743-1814); Okano Sekijō, (1745-1830); Kuranari Ryōsho, (1748-1812); Butsu Hōmei, (1755-1807); Kawada Tōkō, (?-?); Itō Tōri, (1751-1817); Noda Sekiyō, (?-?); Kamei Shōyō, (1773-1836); Itō Tōhō, (1799-1864); Fūjisawa Togai, (1793-1864); Doi Gōga, (1817-1880).

Dr. Inoue concludes the volume with the translation of a passage from Schopenhauer on the extreme rareness of genius, its grand superiority and the benefits it confers on mankind. I may say in conclusion that as regards the style of the book I have so imperfectly reviewed, it seem to me to leave nothing to be desired. I have been struck with the lucidity of every passage I have examined. Dr. Inoue certainly has the art of expressing learned ideas so that any ordinary, intelligent reader can understand them, that is, he knows how to explain uncommon things by the use of common words.

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THE NIHON CHUTSZ (朱子) GAKUHA NO TETSUGAKU.

With the issue of this bulky volume covering 700 pages, Dr. Inoue Tetsujirō brought to a successful close the gigantic literary task which nearly eight years ago he set himself to perform, the compilation of a thoroughly reliable and exhaustive history of Japan's three great schools of Confucian Philosophy. The volume I am now about to review is in many respects the most important of the three. It is necessary to bear in mind that the three schools with which Dr. Inoue has dealt so thoroughly were all variations of Confucianism. Buddhist philosophy in this country is quite a separate subject, which has been treated by several well known Buddhist writers.

As Dr. Inoue points out in the preface to this work, the chief interest attached to the Chutsz philosophy as taught here was the fact that it served as an ethical standard in the schools of Japan for three centuries. Apparently influenced by the fact that in China and Korea the Chutsz doctrines alone were considered orthodox in the educational world, it was decided by the early Tokugawa Shōguns that no moral teaching but that of the Chutsz school should be allowed in Government schools. To the question which has so often been asked during the past few years, whence comes the Japanese fine ethical standard, Dr. Inoue replies, it undoubtedly originated with the teaching of Chutsz as explained, modified and carried into practice in this country. The moral philosophy of the Chutsz school in Japan compared with that of the other two schools was moderate in tone, free from eccentricities, and practical to a rare degree. In the enormous importance it attached to self-culture and what is known in modern terminology as self-realization (*Jiga-jitsugen*), the teaching of the Chutsz school of moralists in this country differed in no material respects from the doctrines of the new Kantists in England, Muirhead, Green and others.

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Chutsz was born in the province of Fuhkien in 1130 A. D. and died in 1200. Into his general teaching and his influence in China and Korea it is not necessary for me to go, as these subjects have been treated by European sinologues. Certain Buddhist priests were the first to imbibe his teaching in Japan and to make it known to a very small circle of scholars. During the Heian period (A. D. 724-1186) there were in Japan numerous exponents of Confucianism, but not one of them was endowed with sufficient talent and character to found a school of thought. The *Jusha* of those days confined himself to interpretation of the Confucian classics. The fine moral ideas taught by China's greatest sage and his Chinese interpreters were not fully appreciated by the Japanese people till the sixteenth century of our era. From the beginning of the Kamakura age (A. D. 1186) down to the time of Tokugawa Ieyasu, Confucianism in Japan showed little activity of any kind. With the teaching of the pioneer of the Chutsz philosophy here, Fujiwara Seigwa, began a period of *renaissance*, producing results which have benefited Japan in a hundred different ways down to the present time. Before proceeding to give an account of the lives and teaching of the great Japanese leaders of the Chutsz school of philosophy, I will state the reasons given by Dr. Inoue for the popularity of Chutsz in this country. While intellectually inclined, the Japanese may be said to be a practical-minded people. The Chutsz moral philosophy differed from that of Wang Yangming and from that taught by Butsu Sorai in the way it explained the relation of learning to conduct. The Wang Yangming school treated intellectual inquiry with too much contempt, attaching importance to the practice of virtue only. Sorai and his school erred in the opposite direction, making too much of mere speculation and verbal discussions. But the Chutsz philosophers hit the golden mean when they maintained that learning is only really valuable when it affects the lives of men. Ethical study is important because without it men would possess no fine moral ideals to guide their footsteps in the path of daily life. It was the subordination of learning to conduct, while attaching no little importance to it regarded by itself, which characterized

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the Chutsz teaching, that to the discerning eyes of the early Tokugawa Shōguns seemed to render it a thoroughly safe and suitable system for use in schools and as a basis for law. I will now proceed to give a short history of the lives and teaching of the founders of the Japanese Chutsz School of Philosophy.

1.—*Fujiwara Seigwa* (1561-1619 A. D.)—In point of time Seigwa had the honour of being the first to make known the teaching of Chutsz in this country. But in ability he was much inferior to Hayashi Razan. Seigwa began to study Confucianism as a priest and was so enamoured with it that he left the Buddhist communion and gave all his time to an investigation of the teaching of the various Confucian schools of thought. He had heard of Chutsz, but had read nothing of his. With a view to making a thorough study of the Chutsz system, he started for China in 1593. Owing to adverse winds the junk in which he sailed drifted on to an island called Kikai-ga-shima. From thence the vessel managed to get to Kagoshima Bay, anchoring in the harbour of Yamakawa, where Seigwa went on shore. He made his way to a temple called the Shōryūji, where he found a priest who had in his possession a Chinese work embodying the teaching of Chutsz called *Shisho Shinchū*, "A New Commentary on the Four Classics." "Here is the very thing which I was going to China to procure," he exclaimed. He made a careful copy of the whole work and returned to Kyōto. There he shut himself off from all intercourse with his friends and for many weeks gave himself up to the study of the new ethical faith. Up to the time of his death he lectured in Kyōto on the Four Classics, and his lectures were highly appreciated. He seems to have been a very liberal-minded man and he doubtless did much to remove anti-foreign prejudices in the minds of his contemporaries. One of his disciples called Yoshida Teijin being engaged in trade with Annam, Seigwa wrote to him as follows:—"The object of trade is to enable each of the two parties concerned to obtain a share of the profits. No one must aim at benefiting himself alone. Profit that is shared with another may seem small, but because so shared it becomes great. And, *vice versa*, gains that are exclusively appropriated may seem big, but they

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are actually small. What is profitable and what is just are in close relation to each other. Though foreigners have different customs from ours and speak different languages, the reason with which Heaven has endowed human beings is theirs as well as ours. Remember how many are the resemblances and how few the differences between us and them. Do not be tempted to think because in some respects their ways are strange to you, you can lie to them or abuse them with impunity. Heaven allows of no lying. Beware of bringing our national customs into contempt. If in foreign countries you come across highly virtuous and benevolent men, honour them as your own father or your own teacher. Obseve the laws and the customs of the country in which you live. Remember that the human race all belong to one family. Remember that virtue is alike everywhere. If there is trouble, or calamity, or illness where you are, do what you can to relieve it." Though Seigwa was the progenitor of the Chutsz school of thought, we must not overlook the fact that he began life as a Buddhist priest and hence he unconsciously mixed certain Buddhist teaching with his doctrines. His personality undoubtedly counted for much. He was highly respected and patronized both by Hideyoshi and Ieyasu.

II.—*Hayashi Razan* (1583-1657 A.D.) Had it not been for the labours of Razan it is very doubtful whether the Chutsz system of ethics would have won the favor and patronage of the Tokugawa Government in the way that it did. Razan showed so much intelligence as a child that his parents wished to make him a priest.* But when he became old enough to judge for himself he swore that on no account would he consent to become a priest. Here are the words that he used on that occasion :—*Ware nanzo Butsu ni ki shite fubo no on wo suten ya? Katsu nochi naki mono wa fuko no oinaru mono nari. Ware kanarazu kore wo sezu.* "Why should I forego the pri-

*Half a century ago among certain classes of gentlemen in England it was customary to put dull-witted sons into the church. "He is only fit for the Church," meant then that a young man was intellectully deficient from the darent's point of view. This sentiment exists no longer. I quote it as a striking contrast to what is stated in the text.....

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vilege granted to me by my parents? (The privilege of freedom to live as he pleased). Moreover, there is no such misfortune as to have no children. Nothing will induce me to become a priest." After spending some years in the study of Chinese works published in the Sung era, he began to lecture on the Chutsz Philosophy in Kyōto. His popularity was so great that there were no vacant seats in his lecture hall. This of course excited the envy of rival schools of thought and Kiowara Hidetaka attempted to appeal to the throne for the suppression of the new teaching. He maintained that no one should be allowed to publicly lecture in defence of views that had not been submitted to the approval of the authorities. But Tokugawa Ieyasu scorned the notion of allowing Hidetaka to appeal to the Emperor. "People may hold what doctrines they please," said he, "and your notion of appealing to the throne is silly." At the age of twenty-two Razan began to study under Seigwa, and showed so much talent that a few years later he was created an adviser to the Tokugawa Government, when he took the name of Hayashi Dōshun, but as Razan is better known I retain that name in this review. Razan, it is related, was the first scholar to allow his hair to grow long. Up to that time men who devoted themselves exclusively to learning or to medicine used to shave their heads. Learning and religion here as in Europe for some centuries were so closely connected with each other as to be inseparable in the minds of ordinary people. Prior to the days of Razan Confucianism had no status in the country. He was the means of making it a State cult during the Tokugawa era. It will be remembered that the Edo Daigaku, first called Shoheikō, was founded in 1690, in the days of the Fifth Tokugawa Shōgun, Tsunayoshi. The office of President of the Shoheikō was always filled by a member of the Hayashi family, which family was founded by Hayashi Razan. So great was the confidence placed in Razan and his descendants by the early Tokugawa Shōguns that the control of the whole of the higher education of the country was confided to them. To Hayashi Nobuatsu, the first President of the Shoheikō, belongs the honour of having obtained a status for Confucian scholars

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independent of Buddhism. The teachers in the college were denominated *Jusha*, a word which, though originally applied to Confucianists exclusively, grew as a result of the pre-eminence of Confucian teachers, to be a synonym of ***shikisha***, ***gakusha*** and other equivalents of our word scholar. Razan was a most voracious reader. It is said that there was not a book in circulation in this country at that time which he had not read. He had a marvellous memory, as is displayed in the 147 books which he wrote. Though he was a far better read man than Seigwa, he felt, and contemporary scholars felt also, that Seigwa had elements of greatness in his character to which Razan never attained, It was Seigwa's powerful personality that made Razan sit at his feet as a humble disciple. But in the advocacy of the Chutsz philosophy Razan showed far more resolution and definiteness than his master. His determination to give no quarter to other schools of thought was doubtless encouraged by the Tokugawa Government. The Shōguns were sharp enough to see that certain Chinese books were calculated to develop the reasoning faculties of students. Such works as 韓非子, *Kampishi*, 荀子, *Junshi*, and 莊子, *Sōji*, could not be safely used as text-books unless under severe restrictions. Ieyasu and his successors were thoroughly convinced of the fact that a despotic Government is only secure when it guards jealously the minds of the rising generation against the adoption of notions calculated to promote the subversion of authority. The Shōgunate could never have maintained its pre-eminence for two and a half centuries had the youth of the country been allowed freedom of thought. Here was Razan's chance for obtaining unrivalled status for his new teaching. The Chutsz philosophy became the orthodox creed of the country. When the Shoheikō was first opened, the expositions of the various teachers differed in diverse details, and the students, as is their wont, enjoyed some lively debates in their rooms over the discrepancies between the views expressed by their teachers. This was reported to the College authorities, who at once issued orders that in expounding text-books all teachers were to adhere closely and exclusively to the interpretation given to passages by the commentator Chutsz and on no

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account to express their private opinions on the meaning of the passages expounded. Thus was the thraldom rendered complete.

In order to make a creed thoroughly successful, it has always seemed to its founder to be necessary that rival creeds should be denounced as erroneous or inferior in some way. Razan adopted this policy in reference to Buddhism, Christianity and Taoism. He pointed out that the "Buddhist way," in that it leads to a renunciation of the world in which we have to live and flight from that world, is no true "way" for mankind in general. Confucianism is true because it recognizes the existing state of society and lays down laws whereby men may reach a high state of perfection without disturbing or ignoring those fundamental relationships which hold communities together and regulate the conduct of individuals to each other. Razan was no doubt aware that some of the teaching of Buddhists was good, but to the conception of life and the world which forms the basis of the creed he had the greatest antipathy. He denounced Christianity on the ground that its cosmological teaching and its explanation of the relation of the supposed Creator of the world to the world in which we live seemed to him to be irrational and contradictory. Dr. Inoue reproduces the history of the controversy between a Portuguese priest called Froez* and Razan, giving the dialogue that took place between them. The priest argued in favour of the existence of a personal God, while Razan was only prepared to admit the existence of an absolute principle, which he called *ri*. If the record which has come down to us be reliable, M. Froez grew very angry towards the close of the controversy. Dr. Inoue says that Razan quite failed to perceive his opponent's point of view, which is surprising as Confucianism has its *Ten* and its *Jōtei* which correspond in a measure to the *Tenshu* of the Roman Catholics. Razan denounced monogamy in unmeasured terms; this Dr. Inoue deplores. Razan thought that the Christian habit of making so much of women

* M. Louis Froez reached Japan in 1563 and stayed in the country till 1592.

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renders them conceited and ungovernable and does not in any way lessen the tremendous jealousy with which they regard each other. On the whole women behave better under our system, said Razan. Razan's rejection of Taoism was, in Dr. Inoue's opinion, based on entirely insufficient grounds; since, rightly understood, the teaching of Laotsz in reference to the chaos which preceded the order of the universe and what is implied in that chaos, is capable of reconciliation with Chutsz's explanation of the governing principle 理, *ri*, with which the world began. Both teachers recognized what we now name *jitsuzai*, real being or existence, says Dr. Inoue. Razan's attitude to Shintōism was friendly. He thought that in substance Shintō ethical doctrines agree with the teaching of Chutsz.

III.—*Kinoshita Junan* (1621-1698 A. D.) Junan studied under one of Seigwa's disciples, a man called Matsunaga Sekigo. Junan is only remembered as a famous educationist. He seems to have understood how to impress his personality on his pupils and how to awaken their minds. Among his numerous brilliant pupils were Arai Hakuseki, Muro Kyūsō and Amamori Hōshū. The life of Arai Hakuseki, scholar, poet, historian, economist, moralist and statesman, has been so fully written by Dr. Knox* that it is unecessary for me to touch on it here; but it is important to give a short account of the influence of Amamori Hōshū and Muro Kyūsō.

IV.—*Amamori Hōshū* (1611-1708 A.D. Though Hōshū advocated the Chutsz philosophy, he did not confine himself to this only. He was of opinion that Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism all had one origin and were in principle one and the same, though they pursued different methods. Hōshū was the first Confucianist to champion this view, though it was held and taught by Kōbō Daishi (A. D. 774-834). Hōshū is represented by Dr. Inoue as very much opposed to utilitarianism. Judging by what Dr. Inoue tells us of Hōshū's views, his conception of utilitarianism was very inadequate. To him it seems to have meant nothing more than self-aggrandizement.

* Vol. xxx. Pt. ii. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.

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Of the grander and deeper meanings attached to the term utility as expounded by the modern school of Utilitarians Hōshu seems to have had no idea. He does not appear to have thoroughly understood the utilitarian views of his contemporary Yamaga Sokō (1662-1685) who, like our great English philosopher Hobbes, gave to the term utility a very broad meaning, making it include the happiness and welfare not of any particular individual but of all persons concerned. Rightly understood, the utilitarian belief is one of the most unselfish of creeds. It applauds self-renunciation when this contributes to the happiness of others. Dr. Inoue quotes Hōshū as representing the right and the beneficial (*gi* and *ri* 利) to be antagonistic to each other. But rightly explained, there is no reason why they should be so. What Hōshū says about not making personal happiness the end of life and thereby losing the chance of attaining this happiness, as Dr. Inoue points out, resembles what Green has written on the same subject.

This is not the place to discuss this subject at length, but for many years past it has seemed to me that Dr. Inoue has displayed uncalled for animosity to this school of ethical thought and has in none of his writings shown any minute or accurate acquaintance with the views of Mill, Sir Leslie Stephen and other great English and American Utilitarians. Had Dr. Inoue ever digested thoroughly Mill's definition of utilitarianism even, he could never write against the system as bitterly as he does. I must repeat," says Mill "what the assailants of utilitarianism seldom have the justice to acknowledge, that the happiness which forms the utilitarian standard of what is right in conduct, is not the agent's own happiness, but that of all concerned. As between his own happiness and that of others, utilitarianism requires him to be as strictly impartial as a disinterested and benevolent spectator. In the golden rule of Jesus of Nazareth, we read the complete spirit of the ethics of utility. To do as one would be done by, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, constitute the ideal perfection of utilitarian morality. If the impugners of the utilitarian morality represented it to their own minds in this its true

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character, I know not what recommendation possessed by any other morality they could possibly affirm to be wanting to it: what more beautiful or more exalted development of human nature any other ethical system can be supposed to foster, or what springs of action, not accessible to the utilitarian, such systems rely on for giving effect to their mandates.

"The objectors to utilitarianism cannot always be charged with representing it in a discreditable light. On the contrary, those among them who entertain anything like a just idea of its disinterested character, sometimes find fault with its standard as being too high for humanity. They say it is exacting too much to require that people shall always act from the inducement of promoting the general interests of society. But this is to mistake the very meaning of a standard of morals, and to confound the rule of action with the motive of it." Since Dr. Inoue constantly represents utilitarianism as too low for adoption by high class moralists, it is quite plain that he does not properly understand this system of ethical thought as expounded by our great western philosophers.

V.—*Muro Kyūsō* (1658-1734). If it had not been for the labours of Kyūsō it is questionable whether the Chutsz philosophy would have obtained such a strong hold over the minds of officials as it did during his lifetime and in subsequent years. When Kyūsō began to lecture, the popularity of the ancient school of philosophy was at its height. In Itō Jinsai and Butsu Sorai Kyūsō had very formidable rivals. But he was equal to the occasion. He was no mere transmitter of the views of his predecessors. He gave to the doctrines of Chutsz fresh life and interest by applying them in entirely new ways. Dr. Inoue is of opinion that no Japanese philosopher has in his general teaching approached so near to Christianity as Kyūsō. His denunciations of hypocrisy and self-deception remind one, says Dr. Inoue, of the language of Christ. He condemned the practice of men's trying to appear to the world as better than they actually were. On pp. 201-2, Dr. Inoue quotes some fine remarks of Kyūsō on this subject. "Even the greatest men," says Kyūsō "have their faults, but they correct them and, what is more, they let the world see that they are doing so.

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There is no concealment of any kind and no pretending that things are different from what they are. If one is conscious that one's heart is cloudless, this adds greatly to the brilliancy of virtue. *Seijin yori ika wa kunshi mo ayamachi naki ni aranedomo, kore wo kakusan to wa sezu shite, hito no miru mama ni aratamuru hodo ni, ayamachi wa ayamachi to mie, aratamuru wa aratamuru to mite, sono shikata ni kakururu koto naku, kokoro ni itten kumori naki to shirureba, kaerite sono toku no hikari mo masarinubeshi.* Much that Kyūsō says' on charity, understanding that term in its broadest sense, reminds Dr. Inoue of St. Paul's beautiful definition of Christian love. But Kyūsō's teaching was not only strong in its advocacy of all the altruistic virtues that are akin to pity, he also preached a doctrine of stern duty and scrupulous regard for the rights of others. Loyalty to superiors, in fine, all those obligations which were embodied in what is known as the *Bushidō*. He wrote much on the Deity and on the possibility of man's holding intercourse with this Deity. To Buddhism he was opposed on the same grounds as those stated above relating to Razan.

An important school of Chutsz philosophers sprang up some fifty years after Fujiwara Seigwa's death, which did not acknowledge the leadership of the teachers whose lives we have sketched above. Their influence was very great, chiefly owing to the ability of two men, Kaibara Ekiken and Yamazaki Anzai. Here is a very short account of these two philosophers.

VI.—Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714 A.D.) Among the moralists of old Japan none is better known and no one has exercised more influence in the educational world than Kaibara Ekiken. One reason of this is the fact that his books, some hundred volumes, were all written in simple Japanese. He was a man of great sweetness of disposition and strikingly modest. It is related that on one occasion he visited the tomb of Kusunoki Masahige at Minatogawa, and was astonished to find that it was surrounded by fields, only marked by two trees, and without an epitaph. He composed what he considered a suitable epitaph. It has been preserved as a specimen of fine writing and is given by Dr. Inoue. But subsequently Ekiken reproach-

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ed himself bitterly for having considered himself worthy of the distinction of composing an epitaph in honor of so great a hero. It is said that his alarm at his rashness was so great on this occasion that he perspired freely. He at once applied to the Mito *Daimyo*, Tokugawa Mitsukuni, who ordered a suitable epitaph to be written. Ekiken was not an orthodox teacher of the Chutsz Philosophy. In explaining man's nature he disregarded the *a priori* governing principle, *ri*, to which Chutsz and other Chinese philosophers of the Sung era attached so much importance, and laid stress only on the *a posteriori* 元氣, *genki* 'original, vital energy). His view of nature and the relation of mankind thereto was that of an optimist. He speaks of the universe as a parent of mankind and enjoins on us gratitude to the author of our being. This is a filial duty we owe to the giver of life, he says. His teaching on this subject is somewhat vague and perplexing, as he does not in so many words endow the primary cause of all things with personality. The chief interest of his teaching has to do with education and with his attitude to Chinese ways and institutions. He was opposed to the wholesale introduction of Chinese government regulations and methods in this country. On education he took the view of Herbart that its chief object is moral culture. In his ethical system virtue and happiness were inseparable. In this particular his teaching was at one with that of Socrates, Spinoza, Hobbes, Hume and many other Western philosophers. He believed that the whole world of nature reveals the love of its author, though he never attempts to show how the earthquakes, the floods, the tidal waves and a hundred other scourges of mankind are reconcilable with the notion that the world was made for man's pleasure.

No writer of the seventeenth century is more frequently quoted than Ekiken. Here is a noted passage from one of his books, which will serve as a specimen of a style of writing that has been much praised by Japanese literary critics for its lucidity and beautiful simplicity.

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人生の快樂種々あれ
ども身分と貧富とに
拘らず何人も享け得
るは讀書の快樂なり。
人は長壽を願ふ。 壽
なれば多くの年代に
種々の事物に接し人
の知らざる事柄を知
るの樂あり。 然れど
も人壽に限りあり。長
しと雖百年を出でず
然るに和漢の歷史を
讀む者は今の世に生
れて三四千年の事柄
を眼前に知ること得
べし。是れ三四千年の
壽を得て代々の變遷
を見るに同じ。此の上
の長壽ある可からず。
又古今聖賢の名言遺
訓を書によって窺ふは
此等の聖賢に教を受
くるが如き者にして
人の幸此上やあるべ
き。且富まずさも日々
の生活に追はるゝ程
にもあらず。

"Though man's life has many pleasures, there is one pleasure that all men can obtain whether their rank be high or low, whether they be rich or poor, and that is the pleasure of reading. Men desire long life. And if they live a long time, in the course of years, they come into contact with (ニ接シ) a great variety of things and have the pleasure of finding out things that other people (people with less experience) do not know. But there is a limit even to long life. However long a man may live, his life does not exceed a hundred years. But those who read Chinese and Japanese histories, though living in the present age, can see under their very eyes the events that have been taking place during three or four thousand years. This is just the same as though they had lived three or four thousand years and watched the changes which have marked each era. There is no longer life than this to be had. And the study of the sayings and precepts of the wise men of all ages by means of books is like being taught by these wise men. There can be no greater human happiness than this; though one may not be rich, he need not be distressed to the extent of not knowing how to live day by day."

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VII.—Yamazaki Anzai (1618-1682 A. D.). Anzai belonged to what is known as the Nankai (Southern Sea) school of Chutsz philosophers, which was founded by Tani Jichū. Though very carefully educated by his mother, Anzai's youth was passed in a very wild manner. He was mischievous and unruly. He made fun of the priests among whom he lived on Hieizan, and so numerous were the practical jokes he played on them that they refused to keep him any longer. At the age of twenty-five he settled down to study under Tani Jichū made rapid progress and very soon attracted the attention of the famous Aizu *Daimyō*, Hoshima Masayuki, in whose mansion he acted as tutor and lecturer. It is related that Anzai was asked by this nobleman what were his chief gratifications in life. He replied I have three. (1) I am thankful that I belong to a race of beings who are rightly called the "lords of creation." (2) I am thankful that I was born in a time of peace when I can carry on my studies without distraction,—keeping company with the wise men of all ages and hearing what they have to say. (3) I rejoice that I was born the son of a poor man and not the son of a rich baron, beeause the sons of barons are too apt to grow up ignorant and helpless. As a teacher he was very severe and often lost his temper, but nevertheless he was extremely popular. He was not a man with any original ideas, but merely a conscientious transmitter of the Chutsz moral philosophy. His teaching is all comprehended in the oft-repeated phrase *Kei-nai gi-gwai*," devotion within and integrity without," heart devotion and uprightness in the world. In his old age he studied Shintō and founded a Shintō sect, being of opinion that there was much affinity between the doctrines of Chutsz and Shintōism. What is known as the Anzai school of philosophy split up into four sections after his death. Three of these kept to the Chutsz philosophy, the other was a Shintō faction. They all represented themselves as the guardians of certain philosophic secrets, resembling the acroamatic teaching of Aristotle, to the publication of which, according to Plutarch, Alexander the Great objected so strongly. What is known as the Mito School of Philosophers, though the chief characteristics of their teaching were distinct-

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ly Shintōistic, derived much strength from their employment of three Nankai Gakuha Chutsz philosophers.

It is important to note that the influence of the Anzai section of the Chutsz School of Philosophy on the men who brought about the overthrow of the Bakufu and the establishment of the present form of government was very considerable. The men who first exposed the wrongs which successive Emperors had suffered at the hands of the Tokugawa Shōguns—what is known as the Kinnō (Royalist) party—received their inspiration from the Anzai school. Among these Iwakura and Higashikuze are worthy of special mention. The Mito *Gakuha* was not a branch of the Chutsz school of philosophy, strictly speaking, though it utilized the doctrines of Chutsz in support of the theory of Imperial rights which it so staunchly advocated.

In Dr. Inouc's concluding remarks (p.p. 595-603) he tells us that the history of the Chutsz philosophy in Japan may be divided into three periods. (1) The period of preparation, lasting for some 270 years, ending with the appearance of Fujiwara Seigwa. (2) The period of great prosperity, beginning with the teaching of Seigwa aud ending about the year 1800, a period of some 190 years. (3) A short period of renaissance after a certain amount of neglect, during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. During the first period the Chutsz tree sprouted, during the second it blossomed, during the third it bore fruit. But the storm which ushered in the Meiji era shook the tree violently, as it shook almost everything else, and the fruit was so scattered hither and thither that it is not easy to find it to-day.

But as a system of ethical thought there are elements in the Chutsz philosophy as taught in this country that have figured largely in the moral culture of the nation and that bear the character of eternal verities. Much that we find in Western ethical treatises on the subject of self-culture, self-realization, and self-completion occupied a prominent place in the Chutsz system of ethics. This system aims at a high development of character by means of ethical teaching founded on common

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sense and suggested by those ineradicable moral ideas found in the heart and conscience of every normal human being. It does not claim to have discovered anything new in the moral world. It has absolutely no surprises and no make-believes of any kind. It glories in simplicity, in reality, in straightforwardness, in the quiet self-assurance which only those can have who are quite sure of the basis on which their moral structure rests. These qualities rendered it an eminently suitable system for adoption in schools and as a guide to politicians.

Though less importance is attached to the cosmological part of the system than to its ethical elements, yet in connection with the former it is interesting to note that, in rejecting the dual origin of the world as explained by Chutsz as unsatisfactory, his Japanese followers showed no little discernment. Chutsz asserted that the *ri*, or governing principle, did not beget the *ki*, or vital energy. They were both primary and in rank coequal. His advocacy of dualism was most pronounced. But the Japanese Chutsz philosophers were all *monists*. They argued that it is reasonable to give priority to one of the supposed originators of the universe. Either the governing principle was first and it produced the vital energy, or the energy came first and what is called the fundamental principle of the universe (*ri*) is nothing but the law that controls the working of the vital energy. Dr. Inoue regrets that beyond the discovery now alluded to, the cosmological speculations of the Japanese followers of Chutsz throw no special light on the riddle of the universe. But these philosophers have the higher honour of furnishing the nation with an ethical standard that is noble in type and at the same time eminently practical. Even to-day there is much to be learnt from the lives and the teaching of the Chutsz luminaries in this country, says Dr. Inoue. As a school of thinkers the Chutsz philosophers were doubtless less original than the Wang Yangming philosophers and the Kogaku-ha adherents, but that their influence in Japan was greater than that of either of the rival schools is unquestionable.

As I observed at the outset, we owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Inoue for the great service he has rendered to his country

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and to Oriental scholarship in general by the publication of what will certainly be considered three standard works on the teaching of all Japan's great Confucian moralists. Dr. Inoue concludes this volume with the following list of Chutsz philosophers, many of whom were known to fame in the Tokugawa era. Fujiwara Seigwa, (A. D. 1561-1619); Yoshida Soan, (1570-1632); Miyake Kisai, (1580-1649); Kwan Tokuan, (1581-1628); Ishikawa Jōzan, (1583-1672); Hayashi Razan, (1583-1657); Matsunaga Sekigo, (1590-1655); Nawa Kwassho, (1595-1648); Tani Jichū, (1598-1649); Tomomatsu Ujioki, (?-1680); Kawai Tōson, (1601-1677); Ogura Sansei, (1604-1654); Nonaka Kenzan, (1605-1663); Hoshina Masayuki, (1611-1672); Yamazaki Ansai, (1618-1682); Hayashi Shunsai, (1618-1680); Kinoshita Junan, (1621-1698); Amanomori Hōshū, (1621-1708); Nagasawa Senken, (1621-1676); Antō Seian, (1622-1701); Hayashi Shuntoku, (1624-1661); Tani Issai, (1625-1695); Yonekawa Sōken, (1626-1678); Fujii Raisai, (?-?); Tokugawa Mitsukuni, (1628-1700); Nakamura Chōsai. (1629-1702); Haguro Yōsen, (1629-1702); Kaibara Ekiken, (1630-1714); Gotō Shōken, (1632-1717); Ukai Rensai (1633-1693); Shōda Rinan; (1639-1674); Fukai Shusui, (1642-1723); Hayashi Hōkō, (1644-1732); Satō Naokata, (1650-1719); Asami Keisai, (1652-1711); Asaka Tampaku, (1656-1737); Sakakibara Kōshū, (1656-1703); Arai Hakuseki, (1657-1725); Muro Kyūsō, (1658-1734); Nambu Nanzan, (1658-1712); Ōtakasaka Shizan, (1660-1713); Miyake Shōsai, (1662-1741); Nishiyama Seizan, (1662-1688); Yano Sessai, (1662-1732); Tani Shinzan, (1663-1718); Asai Rinan, (?-?); Mukai Sōshū, (1666-1731); Hattori Kwansai, (1667-1721); Kuriyama Shimpō, (1671-1706); Yusa Mokusai, (?-?); Miyake Kwanran, (1675-1712); Suzuki Teisai, (?-?); Matsuura Kashō, (1676-1728); Ayabe Keisai, (1767-1750); Sugeno Kenzan, (1678-1748); Wakabayashi Kyūsai, (1679-1723); Inaba Usai, (1684-1760); Hattori Baiyen, (1686-1755); Gion Nankai, (1678-1761); Noda Gōsai, 1690-1768); Tanabe Shinsai, (1692-1771); Oike Keigi, (1693-1752); Iwabuchi Tozan, (1696-1776); Nakamura Ranrin, (1697-1761); Karasaki Gemmei, (?-?); Itō Tansai, (1699-1764); Igarashi Bokuō, (1700-1781); Ishiō

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Sokuken, (1701-1780); Nishiyori Seisai, (1702-1797); Ono Kakuzan, (?-?); Kawaguchi Seisai, (1703-1754); Kani Yosai, (1705-1778); Kume Teisai, (?-?); Takenouchi Shikibu, (1712-1767); Arai Hakuga, (1725-1792); Yamagata Daini, (1725-1767); Nakai Chikuzan, (1730-1804); Inaba Mokusai, (1732-1799); Murashi Gyokusui, (1733-1776); Shibano Ritsuzan, (1734-1807); Nishiyama Sessai, (1735-1798); Yabu Kozan, (1735-1802); Nishiyori Bokuzan, (1741-1798); Tachihara Suiken, (1744-1823); Bitō Jishū (1745-1813); Hattori Rissai, (1746-1800); Rai Shunsui, (1746-1800); Okada Kansen, (1747-1817); Rai Kyohei, (1756-1834); Hayashi Jitsusai, (1768-1841); Satō Issai, (1772-1859); Fujita Yūkoku, (1774-1826); Aoyama Yenu, (1776-1843); Aizawa Seishisai, (1782-1863); Asaka Gonsai, (1785-1860); Tokugawa Nariaki, (1800-1860); Aoyama Yenkō, (1806-1869; Fujita Tōko, (1806-1855); Motoda Tōya, 1818-1891); Nakamura Keiu, (1832-1891).

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CONTENTS:

THE FOX AND BADGER IN JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

By DR. M. W. DE VISSER.

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THE FOX AND THE BADGER IN JAPANESE FOLKLORE.

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DR. M. W. DE VISSER.

From olden times down to the present day the fox has played the most important part in Japanese animal-lore. This clever brute is considered to be more skillful than any other animal in taking human shape and haunting and possessing men. Moreover, the fox is the messenger of Inari, the Rice goddess, which, as we shall see below, is only a later expression of the fact that Inari, the Spirit of the Rice, was believed to have a vulpine shape. It is clear that this belief gave the fox a double character in the eyes of the Japanese people: that of a beneficent god, representing the Rice, the greatest blessing of the country, and, on the other hand, that of a wicked demon, haunting and possessing men.

Not so important and complicated is the badger, of whose three kinds, the *tanuki* (狸), *mujina* (貉) and *mami* (貒), the first is the principal in folklore and is very often combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸), or "foxes and badgers."[1]

1. In Chinese the two characters were sometimes combined, with the meaning "foxes" only. So we find in *Sheu shen ki* (搜神記) of YÜ PAO (于寶), a work of the fourth century, referred to by Professor DE GROOT (*Religious System of China*, Vol. IV, p. 191), the combined term 狐狸, and even the single character 狸, used in the sense of simply "foxes." This explains why according to BAKIN (*Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11) the same legend was told about a tanuki instead of foxes in the Chinese work *T'ai p'ing kwang ki* (太平廣記), written in the tenth century. It is remarkable that INOUE ENRYŌ, who quotes YÜ PAO'S tale (*Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, IV, pp. 183 sqq.) should give a quite different text although the story is the same. According to his quotation it was a single spotted fox which changed itself into a student, and the character 狸 does not occur in the text. The zoölogical name of the tanuki is "canis procynoides," the "Raccoon dog," but, as it is generally known under the name "badger," we use this term for both tanuki and mujina.

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The tanuki as well as the mujina can change themselves into men and haunt and possess mankind, but they are not so skillful or dangerous as the fox, since they lack the divinity which gives this animal such a special position in the world of superstition.

There is a very logical reason for the double and contradictory character of the fox in Japan. As stated at the beginning of my paper on the Tengu[1], China's influence on Japanese folklore is enormous. We shall soon see that the Chinese ideas about the fox have all been taken up by this docile people, and we shall be able to draw a sharp line between original and borrowed property. The original is the divine rice spirit and perhaps the fox-sorcery, the borrowed is all the rest.

CHAPTER I.

The fox in China.

It is again from Professor DE GROOT's "*Religious System of China*" that we get ample information on this subject. We read there[2]: "KOH HUNG says in the *Pao Poh-tszĕ*[3]: 'Foxes and wolves may all attain an age of eight hundred years, and when more than five hundred years old, they are able to metamorphose themselves into beings shaped like men.'"

In the chapter entitled "Werefoxes"[4] DE GROOT quotes four tales from YÜ PAO's *Shen shen ki*[5], a work written in the first decades of the fourth century[6]. The first story[7] tells about

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI.
2. Vol. IV, p. 182.
3. 抱朴子, a work of the fourth century, Ch. I, Sect. 3. Here we find again 狐狸 combined.
4. Vol. IV, pp. 188-196.
5. See above p. 1, note 1.
6. Comp. Vol. IV, p. 78, note 1.
7. Vol. IV, p. 188.

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a man who had run away and was found in an empty grave. To quote further from DE GROOT's translation: "His shape is quite that of a fox, and does not in any respect correspond to the human form, and no other sounds does he utter but O-tszĕ (阿紫, red), which is a name for foxes. After ten days or so he gradually recovers consciousness, and then he relates the following: 'When the fox came to me for the first time, it assumed the shape of a lovely woman in a fowl-house standing in a hidden corner of my dwelling. She told me she bore the name of O-tszĕ, and called me; and when she had done so more than once, I followed her, and she became my wife. At night I frequently accompanied her to her dwelling, without being perceived by the dogs we met; the pleasures I enjoyed with her were incomparably delightful.' A Taoist doctor declared that vixen to be a mountain-devil. The 'Description of Famous Mountains'[1] says that the fox is a lewd wife, who lived in remotest times and bore the name of O-tszĕ; she adopted the fox shape, and hence it is that such spooks often call themselves O-tszĕ."

The second tale[2], quoted also in a different form[3] by INOUE[4], speaks about two foxes, over a thousand years old, which lived in the tomb of a king. They transformed themselves into youthful students with extraordinary capacities and fine features, who, mounted on horseback, went to a very talented minister to argue with him, against the warning of the spirit of the glorification tree which stood before the tomb. When the minister could not checkmate them for the space of three days, he got suspicious and tempted them with dogs, but they did not show the slightest fear. "To be sure," he exclaimed, "they are spectres of the true sort. If a hundred years old, they must change their shape at the sight of hounds;

1. 名山記.
2. Vol. IV, p. 189.
3. Comp. above p. 1, note 1.
4. *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, Vol. IV, p. 183.

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if they are spooks of a thousand years, they must change when fire produced by an animated tree of the same old age shines on them." So he sent some servants to the tomb in order to fell the glorification tree. They found the spirit of the tree—a young child in blue garments—sitting in a cavity in the tree's side, and when this spirit heard concerning the matter, he wept and lamented the ignorance of the old foxes and his own fate, whereupon he vanished. Then when the servants felled the tree, blood gushed forth from it. They took the wood home and kindled it, whereupon it caused the foxes to turn into their own shape again. They were then caught and cooked by the minister.

The third story[1] runs as follows. A devout monk, who passed the night in a grave copse, saw in the moonlight a wild fox placing withered bones and a skull upon its head, and when the animal after some practice succeeded in moving its head without dropping them, it covered its body with grass and leaves and changed into a beautiful woman. Staying by the road-side she deluded a man, who passed by on horseback, by her weeping and sad story, so that he was about to take her with him on his horse, when the monk came out of the grave copse and warned him that it was a fox. The monk, making a mystic sign (mudra) with his fingers, uttering a genuine formula (dhārani), and brandishing his crosier, caused the woman to fall down, change into an old vixen and expire. Nothing remained on the body of the fox but the dry bones with the skull, the grass and the leaves.

In the fourth legend[2] a hoary-headed learned man, whose name was Hu[3], and who once suddenly disappeared, was discovered by his students in the shape of an old fox, explaining a book to a pack of foxes, drawn up in files before him in an empty grave.

1. Vol. IV, p. 192, comp. INOUE, l.l. IV, p. 186.
2. Vol. IV, p. 195; quoted by INOUE, l.l. IV, p. 185.
3. 胡, pronounced in the same way as 狐, fox.

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Vol. IV, p. 194 of DE GROOT refers to the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*[1], where we read: "It is an old saying that the wild fox bears the name of Tszĕ, Red (紫). At night he strikes fire out of his tail. When he desires to appear as a spook, he puts a human skull on his head and salutes the Great Bear constellation, and the transformation is then effected as soon as the skull ceases to fall."

On the same page we find a story from the *I yuen*[2] concerning a man who always had a rank smell about him and until his death had a great fear of dogs. His body disappeared out of his coffin, whereupon everybody said that he had been a fox.

In Vol. IV, p. 202 we read: "As well as the *fox* and the stag, the monkey is notorious in Chinese mythology for embracing sometimes, in a human shape, Buddhist religious life and asceticism."

In the Chapter on Demonology in Vol. V of the same work DE GROOT devotes many pages[3] to the fox demons. "Already in ancient China," he says, "the fox was in bad repute as portending or causing evil, for we read in the *Shi king*[4]: 'Nothing here is red but evil foxes, nothing black but evil crows.' CHU HI comments upon this verse in these words: 'The fox was an ill-boding animal which men disliked to see. The fact that there was nothing to see except those animals, proved that the kingdom was about to be imperilled and thrown into confusion.' In the third century before our era it was CHWANG-TSZĔ who gave evidence of the prevalence of the belief in ill-boding foxes. 'In a hillock of not more than a *pu* or a *jen* in size,' he wrote, 'no large beasts conceal themselves, but evil foxes there give their omens.'"

"The Standard Histories of the third and the fourth centuries of our era frequently refer to the fox as the cause of

1. 酉陽雜俎, a book of the eighth century, ch. 15.
2. 異苑, a work of the fifth century, written by LIU KING-SHUH, 劉敬叔.
3. Pp. 576-600.
4. 詩經, "Canon of Odes," Section 邶風, ode 16.

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insanity, disease, and even of *death.*" They entered into men so as to change them into raving lunatics[1] and were harbingers of disaster in general[2]. The howling of a fox predicted evil, for example the collapse of a house, and a dream about a fox which crept under his couch and on being seized became invisible, caused a sovereign of the sixth century to build a seven-storied pagoda in order to avert the evil, but ere it was finished it burned down with such rapidity that a great number of people perished in the flames[3].

"The legends of fox-demons show that in all times the dangerousness of those beings was deemed to consist in the first place in that, like spectres of all classes, they caused disease and madness, sometimes acting in a spirit of revenge, but mostly from mere unprovoked malignity."[4]

As in Yü Pao's tales, so in all ages, down to the present day, foxes were believed to change themselves especially into charming maids, with the object of tempting men to sexual intercourse. It was principally in the T'ang dynasty that the belief in bewitching were-vixens[5] was prominent.

Further, de Groot quotes the *Huen chung ki*[6], which states the following: "When a fox is fifty years old, it can transform itself into a woman; when a hundred years old, it becomes a beautiful female, or a *wu*, possessed by a spirit[7], or a grown-up man who has sexual intercourse with women. Such beings are able to know things at more than a thousand miles distance; they can poison men by sorcery, or possess and bewilder them, so that they lose their memory and knowledge. And when a fox is a thousand years old, it penetrates to heaven, and becomes a celestial fox (天狐)."

1. Vol. V, p. 578.
2. Vol. V, p. 580.
3. Vol. V, p. 581.
4. Vol. V, p. 582.
5. Hu-mei, 狐媚, Vol. V, p. 587.
6. 玄中記, a work which existed before the sixth century and is also referred to by Inoue, l.l. IV, p. 183.
7. Shen, 神巫; *wu* is a sorceress, a spiritual medium.

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On pp. 590 sqq. we read about foxes taking the shape of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, just as the Tengu of Japan did in olden times; and on pp. 593 sq. mention is made of a *mysterious pearl* which were-foxes are believed to possess and which probably represents their soul. They hold this pearl in their mouths, and any man who gets possession of it becomes a favourite of the whole world.

Besides appearing as human spectres, foxes set houses on fire, holding fire in their paws, and deprive men of their hair.[1] As to the means of unmasking were-foxes, this can be done by wounding or killing them or setting dogs upon them, in which cases they are forced to re-assume the vulpine form. Incantations, checkmating them in discussion if they appear as scholars or saints, poisonous food, written charms and the cutting off of the tail or what resembles a caudal appendage, which sometimes betrays their real nature, all these are means for making them take again their original shape.[2]

Not only by the use of human skulls and bones did foxes transform themselves into men, but also by swallowing written charms or pronouncing spells. As they were such dangerous creatures, they were always very much persecuted in China, especially by means of fire, so that the Code of Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties forbids damaging graves by smoking foxes thereout.[3]

The Japanese authors refer also to other Chinese books, among which the following give interesting information. The *Shan hai king*[4], quoted by BAKIN[5], says: "In the Ts'ing k'iu (青丘) mountains there are *nine-tailed foxes*, which like to devour men. Those who eat these foxes are not haunted by them." And in another passage of the same work we read:

1. Vol. V, pp. 595 sq., p. 598.
2. Vol. V, pp. 599 sqq.
3. Vol. V, p. 600. A similar provision is to be found already in the Japanese Law of the year 702, as we will see below.
4. 山海經, a very old classic.
5. *Enseki zasshi*, 燕石雜志, (1810), Ch. I, p. 26.

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"In the land of Ts'ing k'iu there are nine-tailed foxes. If there is a virtuous Emperor, they appear at once." An interesting Chinese legend about a nine-tailed fox that changed itself into a woman, called Tah Fei[1], and tempted King Cheu[2] to crimes which caused the ruin of the Shang dynasty in B.C. 1122. It reminds us of a similar old Chinese legend according to which the Western Cheu dynasty was ruined in B.C. 781 by a transformed fox called Pao Sz'[3], the favourite concubine of King Yiu[4], and which was afterwards transformed into the famous Japanese story about *Tamamo-no-mae*[5], the concubine of the Emperor Konoe or Toba in the twelfth century of our era.

In order to prove that the appearance of a nine-tailed fox was considered a *lucky* omen by the Chinese, BAKIN quotes the work entitled "*Lü shi ch'un ts'iu*[6]." We read there the following: The Emperor Yü[7] was not yet married in his thirtieth year. Once he went to T'u shan (塗山); the inhabitants of that place expressed the fear that, being not yet married notwithstanding his age, he would have no descendants. But Yü said: 'There will certainly occur a good omen when the time comes that I ought to marry.' When behold a white nine-tailed fox suddenly approached him, and the Emperor said: 'White is my colour, and the nine tails are a sign of many descendants.' Thereupon a man of T'u shan recited the following verse: 'The nine-tailed fox is a sign of a good wife and of the great prosperity of my country.' The result was that the Emperor took a wife from that place."

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1. 妲妃.
2. 紂王.
3. 褒姒.
4. 幽王.
5. 玉藻前. See below the *Kagakushū*, 下學集, (1444), *Nikkenroku*, 日件錄, (1453), etc.
6. 呂氏春秋, written by 呂不韋食客, "The guests of Lü PUH-WEI," in the Ts'in dynasty, B.C. 249-206. Comp. WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese literature*, p. 157, and DE GROOT, I l., Vol. II, p. 685.
7. 禹, the founder of the Hia dynasty (2205-1766, B.C.).

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In the *Ts'ien K'ioh-kü léi shu*[1] we read KWOH P'OH'S[2] praise of nine-tailed foxes, which runs as follows: "In Ts'ing k'iu[3] is a strange animal; it is a nine-tailed fox. If the government is good, it appears with a book in its mouth. In the time of WEN[4], of the Cheu dynasty[5], such a fox with a book appeared as a good omen." And WANG PAO[6] says: "At the time of King Wen a nine-tailed fox appeared; and all the Eastern barbarians submitted."

In the *Shōkan zakki*[7] a passage is quoted from the Chinese work *Pao P'oh-tszĕ*, to which DE GROOT refers in Vol. IV, p. 182[8]. He says: "A fox lives 800 years. When he is 300 years old, he takes human shape. At night he strikes fire out of his tail, and placing a skull upon his head he bows towards the Great Bear; if the skull does not fall, the fox changes into a man."

We find a fox playing the part of a protector in the *Sheu shen heu ki*[9]. It is a fox of a thousand years, the life of which was spared by a prefect whom it had intended to kill. Afterwards the fox warned the prefect when an invasion of robbers was imminent, and saved his life when his servants were about to kill him. At last the animal became a celestial fox, ascended to heaven and never came back again.

HÜ SHEN[10] writes as follows: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride. They have three good qualities" [to wit, their flesh cures ulcers, their livers cause persons who

1. 淵鑑居類書, written by CH'EN JEN-SIH, 陳仁錫, who obtained official rank in 1921.
2. 郭璞.
3. 青丘.
4. King WEN, 文王.
5. 1122-249 B.C.
6. 王褒, in the *Sze tszĕ kiang teh lun*, 四子講德論, part of the Wen sŭen, 文選.
7. 清閑雜記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中, Hyakka setsurin, Vol. II, p. 1046.
8. See above p. 2, note 3.
9. 搜神後記, a work of the Tsin dynasty (265-420), also quoted by DE GROOT.
10. 許愼, an author of the Han dynasty.

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suddenly have died to revive, their blood refreshes people who have been drunken[1]].

Sié Chao-chi[2] gives in his *Wuh tsah tsu*[3] the following explanation: "When a fox is a thousand years old, it goes to heaven for the first time and does not haunt people any longer. The purpose of the foxes in enchanting men is to take the vital spirit (精氣) away from them in order to transfer it to their own bodies. But why do they not enchant women? Because a fox is an animal of *Darkness* (陰類, belonging to the principle *Yin*), and he who has *Light* (陽, the principle *Yang*) within himself, is liable to be enchanted by them. Even male foxes always take the shape of women to seduce men; but other harm than this they do not cause them."

Tsukada Ko[4], who quotes this passage in his work "*Zui-i roku*"[5], remarks: "This is not true. The Japanese foxes often take the shape of *men* in order to deceive mankind; also women are often deluded by them. But they can enchant only low, stupid persons, never wise men of high standing."

The Chinese encyclopedia *San ts'ai t'u hwui*[6] says: "In the Northern Mountains are black foxes; they are divine animals. When an Emperor maintains peace well, these foxes appear. They were seen for the first time under the reign of the Emperor Ch'ing Wang, of the Cheu dynasty (1122-249 B.C.), when the barbarians came from all sides and paid in taxes."

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1. Comp. the encyclopedia *Wakan sansai zue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 590.

2. 謝肇淛, an author of the Ming dynasty, who lived about 1592.

3. 五雜俎.

4. 塚田虎.

5. 隨意錄, written in 1811.

6. 三才圖會, written by Wang K'i, 王圻, in the Ming dynasty, and quoted in the *Reijū sakki*, 靈獸雜記, Ch. II, p. 9-b, as well as in the *Wakan sansai zue*, 和漢三才圖會, Ch. XXXVIII, p. 591. Comp. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 187.

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According to BAKIN[1] in the *T'ai p'ing kwang ki*[2] there is a legend which tells of a *badger* (狸, tanuki), a thousand years old, which took the shape of a student and tried to haunt a man called Tung Chung-shu. BAKIN thinks that this is nothing but the old fox tale of the *Sheu shen ki*[3], dressed up in a new garb. In other Chinese tales the character 狸 is combined with 狐 (fox).

The tanuki (狸) is described in the Chinese book *Kwang ya*[4] as "a special kind of badger with a white face and a tail like that of a cow. Therefore it is called 'jewel-face' and 'cow-tail'. If people catch and keep it, all the rats are afraid and do not come out of their holes."

So far *China*; let us now see what *Japan* has to tell us concerning this interesting subject.

CHAPTER II.

The fox and the badger in Japanese laws, divination and legends.

§ 1. LAWS.

The *Zokutō ritsu*[5] contains the following law concerning *foxes* and *mujina*.

"All those who dig up the earth and take out the corpses of men without burying them again, and who smoke foxes or

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1. *Enseki Zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 11.

2. 太平廣記, written by LI FANG (李昉) and many other scholars of the T'ai p'ing era (A.D. 976-983).

3. See above p. 3.

4. 廣雅, written by CHANG YIH, 張揖, of the Wéi dynasty (386-557).

5. 賊盜律, "Laws concerning robbers," Section VII of the Laws, written in 702 by FUJIWARA NO FUHITO (不比) under the Emperor Mommu (697-707), and revised in the Yōrō era (717-723). Gunsho ruijū, 群書類從, nr 75, Vol. IV, p. 785.

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mujina (狐貉) out of graves, or burn the coffins, (shall be punished with) one hundred blows with the stick. Those who burn corpses, with transportation for one year; but, if they belong to the fifth or higher ranks, their punishment shall be two degrees heavier, and if they are people of low standing, or children, it shall be diminished by two degrees. If children or grand-children smoke foxes or mujina out of the grave of a grand-father, father or mother, and if the inmates of a house do the same at the grave of the master of the house, (their punishment shall be) transportation for one year; if they burn the coffin, the same for two years, and if they burn the corpse, then for three years."

This law, which was certainly copied from a Chinese original, reminds us of DE GROOT'S statement above mentioned about the Laws of the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, which forbid smoking foxes out of graves, and it proves that similar laws must have already existed in China before the eighth century.

§ 2. DIVINATION.

The *Nihongi*[1] mentions the fox but twice, and both times apparently as an omen. In 657[2] a so-called "byakko," or "white fox" (白狐), appeared in Iwami province and in 659[3] "a fox bit off the end of a creeper, which a labourer of the district of Oü (in Izumo province) held in his hand, and went off with it. Further, there came a dog with the arm of a dead man in its mouth, which it put down in the Ifuya temple." A note says: "These were forebodings of the death of the Empress (Saimei, who died in 661)."

When we compare the first of these passages with the list of important lucky omina mentioned in the *Engishiki*, we come to the conclusion that the appearance of the white fox in Iwami was a good omen. The colour white being a lucky colour

1. 日本紀, written in 720.
2. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. (*Kokushi taikei*, 國史大系), Vol. I, p. 459.
3. Ch. XXVI, K.T.K. Vol. I, p. 465. Cf. Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. II, p. 263.

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this is quite logical. The second fox, on the contrary, was a bad omen, for it is mentioned together with one that was very unlucky, and was followed, although not immediately, by the death of the Empress.

For the sake of clearness I will put here together the three important passages which I have found on the fox and tanuki set forth as forebodings, although the time of the books containing them is later than that of the Nihongi. The source of all is certainly China, where, as we have seen, the fox especially was believed to portend evil or to bring good luck.

The *Engishiki*[1] gives a list of omina, among which the *nine-tailed, white* and *black foxes* are mentioned as very lucky. The following notes are added. "A nine-tailed fox is a divine animal; its body is red, though some say, white; its voice is like that of an infant." "A white fox is the vital spirit (精) of the (Chinese) mountain Tai (岱). "A black fox is a divine animal." Among the "Right upper good omens"[2] we find a *red fox* (赤狐). This last fact does not agree with the above quoted words of the *Shi king* and CHU HI's commentary (p. 5), where the red fox is described as an animal of evil.

In the *Nichū reki*[3] the *mujina* (狢), *hare* (or rabbit) and *fox* are combined with the zodiacal sign of the hare (卯), and the tiger, leopard and *tanuki* (狸), with the sign of the tiger (寅). First of all on the list of calendar days for strange things[4] we find the *crying of foxes*, divided into the twelve days of the zodiac in the following way.

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1. 延喜式, "Ceremonies of the Engi era (901-922), written in 927. The lucky forebodings (祥瑞) are to be found in Ch. XXI, Section 治部省, K.T.K. Vol. XIII, p. 652, where the foxes are mentioned sub nos 6, 7 and 8 of the "Right great lucky forebodings," (右大瑞), as "kyubi no kitsune" (九尾狐), "byakko" (白狐) and "genko" (玄狐).

2. 右上瑞, p. 654.

3. 二中歷, a calendar dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, *Shiseki shūran*, (史籍集覽), Vol. XXIII, nr XIX 9, p. 151, where we find the mujina, fox and tanuki among the 36 animals under the heading "*Chikusan-reki*," 畜產歷, "Calendar of animals."

4. 怪異歷日, p. 162.

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"If a fox cries on the *day of the rat*, and this is the *thirtieth* day of the month, should the crying be heard in the *North*, an inmate of the house will die, or it forebodes a lawsuit, or the shedding of blood."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the ox*, the *fifteenth* day of the month, a boy will die, if the cry is heard in the *East*, or it is taken as a bad omen concerning the officials of the district."

"If a fox cries on the *day of the tiger*, the *nineteenth* day, in the *N. East*, an infant will die, or the omen is bad and forecasts a lawsuit."

In the same way the crying of a fox on the day of the *hare*, thirteenth day, in the East, means the death of a boy, or it is a bad omen concerning slaves; if on the day of the *dragon*, and in the South-East, it is a bad omen concerning something being broken; and on the day of the *snake*, fifteenth day, in the West, it portends the death of a man, but in a Northern or Western direction, only illness. On the day of the *horse*, eighth day, it means a quarrel; or, in the *N. W.*, the death of a man; at the hour of the monkey (3-5 p.m.), something dreadful. On the day of the *sheep*, nineteenth day, in the South, it indicates that a full-grown man will come; and, thirteenth day, that a thief will come. On the day of the *monkey*, eighteenth day, in the *S. W.*, a man will die; whereas in the *N.*, a male child will be born and die. On the day of the *bird*, thirteenth day, in the East, a man will die, or an ox or a horse will die going into water. So also it means, on the day of the *dog*, thirteenth day, in the North, the death of a man; in the East, the death of a villager. Finally, on the day of the *hog*, thirteenth day, in the North, it portends the death of a man; and in the East, the death of a woman of the village.

Then follows a reference to the *discharging of dung by foxes*. If this happens on the day of the *rat*, a woman of the village will die; on the day of the *ox*, a mother will die; on a *tiger* day, one will come by a fortune; on a *hare* day, it means a quarrel or the death of a man; on a *dragon* day, in a W.

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direction, illness, or the death of a man; on a *snake* day, fifteenth day of the month, in the West, the death of a man, in the North, the death of an ox or horse. On a *horse* day it means misfortune and fasting; on a *sheep* day, theft, or some great calamity; on a *monkey* day the death of a woman; on a *bird* day, the arrival of a messenger; on a *dog* day, the death of a thief, and on a *hog* day calamity concerning one's parents, or death.

On the next page we find the *crying of tanuki* commented upon. In the same way as the howling of foxes it is said to portend, on special days, and as heard in some special direction, illness or death, a quarrel, or the arrival of district officials, which was apparently considered as equally bad with the various other evils.

Another list of good and bad omens concerning the howling of foxes on different days is to be found in the *Shūkaishō*[1]. If it is heard on a *tiger* day, in the South or North, a man will die; or, according to another version, if a fox cries in the South, one will get a large fortune; in the West, there will be quarreling, and in the North, a guest will come. So it goes on, for all the twelve different days; besides the things already mentioned, the howling can mean a small measure of good luck, or the drinking of sake and eating, sorrow, a quarrel of officials, death which must be prevented by fasting during five days in honour of a great god; or it is an omen of the getting of money, of falling ill, the death of horses or oxen, of fire, of the death of a child, or drowning.

After all this digression it will be clear why in the following passages of the old historical works such importance is attached to the appearance and the howling of foxes in the Palace.

1. 拾芥抄, written by FUJIWARA NO SANEHIRO, (實隆), who was born in 1408 and retired to Higashiyama in 1457. Vol. I, p. 17.

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In the *Shoku Nihongi*[1] we find the fox mentioned nine times. In the seventh month of 712 Iga province presented a *black fox* to the Emperor[2]; and two months later the Emperor issued the following proclamation: "We hear that, according to the old tradition, in the year of the rat the crop is not good; yet, by the assistance of Heaven and Earth, we have a very good crop this year. A wise king of old said: 'An abundant year is better than good forecastings.' Moreover, the black fox, presented to me by the Governor of Iga province and his officials, corresponds to the 'Good Forecastings'[3]. That book says: 'A black fox appears, when a king by his government causes profound peace."[4]

Other provinces (Tōtōmi, Kai and Hida) presented *white foxes* to the Emperor in the years 715, 721 and 740,[5] certainly as being good omina. In 782 a white fox appeared at one of the Palace gates.[6]

Bad forecastings were apparently the wild foxes which ventured into the Palace. In 775 such a beast sat on the official seat of the Dainagon Fujiwara no Ason[7], and another was seen in the inner gate of the Palace[8]. Unlucky also was the communication which came from Yamashiro province in 774, to the following effect. "In the 12th month of last year a great number of wolves and stags, and about a hundred wild foxes were howling every night about the Otokuni temple in Otokuni district in our territory; this went on for seven days and then stopped."[9]

But more important than all these omina is a passage of the year 741, in which we read of a *haunting* fox[10]. "Naniwa

1. 續日本紀, written in 797.
2. Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. II, p. 73.
3. 上瑞, a chapter in the Books of Divination.
4. Comp. the *Engishiki*, above p. 13.
5. Ch. VI, p. 87, VIII p. 126, XIII p. 223.
6. Ch. XXXVII, p. 676.
7. Ch. XXXIII, p. 585.
8. Ch. XXXIII, p. 587.
9. Same chapter, p. 574.
10. Ch. XIV, p. 235.

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no Miya (a god) subduced a spook (怪, ke); in the garden lay the head of a fox, without its body; only its hair and dung lay scattered beside the head."

The *Nihon kōki*[1] speaks only of a wild fox which dug a hole in the inner garden of the Chōdō-in, an office in the Palace, and lived there, but disappeared after about ten days.[2]

The *Shoku Nihon kōki*[3] mentions foxes thrice. In 833 a fox ran into the Palace, but was beaten to death by the Imperial Guards when it reached the Seiryōden.[4] In 849 the same thing happened, but the fox was pursued and killed by a dog[5]. In 834 the flapping of wings and the sound of crying were heard one evening above the Palace. The Guards looked up towards the sky but could not see anything because of the darkness. Some thought that it was a flock of sea-birds that they heard, but one of the number declared that *Celestial Foxes* (天狐, Tenko) had passed.[6]

In the *Nihon Montoku Tennō jitsuroku*[7] we read that in 855 a fox appeared in the Palace in the day-time. The chamberlains were ordered to drive the beast away, but it ran round in front of the Emperor who shot it.[8]

The *Nihon sandai jitsuroku*[9] gives several cases of foxes entering the Palace. In 871 two female foxes appeared in the day-time in the Kōchō, a department of the Dajōkwan (Council of State). They were caught but were let go in the Kanan field (" South of the River-field "), as was also another fox which came howling into the same office in the same year[10]. In 875

1. 日本後紀, written in 841.
2. Ch. XVII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 88.
3. 續日本後紀, written in 869.
4. Ch. II, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 182.
5. Ch. XIX, p. 409.
6. Ch. III, p. 192. Comp. above, pp. 6 and 9, and my paper on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 34 seqq.
7. 日本文德天皇實錄, written in 878; the Emperor Montoku reigned 850-858.
8. Ch. VII, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 524.
9. 日本三代實錄, written in 901.
10. Ch. XX, K.T.K. Vol. IV, p. 335.

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a fox dropped dung on the wooden floor before the Shishinden (in the Palace), and some days afterwards another fox urinated on the same spot.[1] These were all bad omina, but still worse was the following: In the first month of 881 there happened many strange things in all the barracks of the Body-Guards. In those of the Right Body-Guards a fox was constantly dropping dung on the seats of the General and lower officers, nay it even passed urine upon a man who guarded the seats at night. In the department of the Left Body-Guards rats bit the cords of somebody's sword and quiver and ran off with them. A fox was doing the same with a quiver, and although a man seized the object, the animal did not let go until it had bitten through the cords; then it ran away. The soldiers pursued and caught it.[2] In the same year a fox climbed upon the Eastern tobi no o (鵄尾, "kite tails", the vertically projecting parts of the roof) of the Bifuku gate (of the Palace)[3], and in 887 such an animal ran in the day-time upon the roof of the Crown-prince's palace, but was killed there by a very brave man[4]. In 882 a fox incessantly howled in the same palace from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m.[5] The *Fox-star* (狐星) is mentioned twice: in 873 a white shooting star, and in 881 a red one, appeared and entered the Fox-star[6].

The *Nihon kiryaku*[7] mentions the fox five times. In 905 a fox died in the Palace, but the Emperor did not consider it as making the Palace unclean.[8] In 940 a fox chewed the key of the Korean box which contained the seal of the Emperor, and ran away in the direction of the Shōmei gate[9]. In 944 a great number of foxes assembled at the barracks of the Left Body-

1. Ch. XXVII, p. 418.
2. Ch. XXXIX, p. 557.
3. Same page.
4. Ch. XLI, p. 722.
5. Ch. XLI, p. 585.
6. Ch. XXIII, p. 369; XXXVIII, p. 549.
7. 日本紀畧; it contains the history up to 1036.
8. Part II, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. V, p. 783.
9. Ch. II, p. 828.

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Guards[1], and in 972, at the New-year's festival, there were more than 100 foxes howling even within the barracks[2]. In 930 a woman combed her hair on the top of the Southern hisashi (the projecting roof) of the rooms of the Court ladies in the Palace. Perhaps it was a haunting fox (狐妖).[3]

§ 3. Legends.

A. *Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*

As to the *mujina* we find in the *Nihongi*[4] the following passage: "In olden times there was in Kuwada village, Tamba province, a man whose name was Mikaso and who had in his house a dog called Ayuki. This dog killed a mountain animal called *mujina* (牟士那). In the belly of the beast was found a magatama[5] of Yasaka gem[6]. Therefore the gem was presented to the Emperor. It is now in the shrine of Iso[7] no kami."

Bakin[8] thinks that this idea of the pearl of the mujina, although very old, was originally borrowed from the fox legends. As we have seen above (p. 7), the Chinese speak about a mysterious pearl, which were-foxes have in their *mouths* and which makes the man who gets one into his possession a favourite of the whole world. In Japan some think that foxes have a luminous pearl in their *tails*, by which they make the so-called fox-fire, kitsune-bi[9]. But nowhere is a pearl said to be found in the *belly* of the fox, nor do we find any other passage in which the mujina pearl is mentioned.

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1. Ch. II, p. 833.
2. Ch. VI, p. 939.
3. Ch. VI, p. 933.
4. Ch. VI, K.T.K. I, p. 129.
5. Magatama, 勾玉, curved jewels, are "comma-shaped gems of cornelian or other stones" (Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 38.
6. 八尺瓊, "Yasaka gem." Cf. Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 184.
7. 石上.
8. *Enseki zasshi*, Ch. V, nr 2, p. 10-b.
9. Compare below Sekitei's "*Chikon*", quoted in the *Shōsan chomon kishū*, 想山著聞奇集 (1849).

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Another passage of the *Nihongi* runs as follows: "In the second month of the 35th year of the Empress Suiko (627) there was in Michinoku (Mutsu) province a mujina (狢, the kana reading *ujina*) which changed itself into a man and sung."[1]

The first Japanese fox legend we find in three books belonging to the eighth and twelfth centuries, namely in the *Ryō-i ki*, *Fusō ryakki* and *Mizu kagami*.[2]

In the Emperor Kimmei's reign (540-571), a man from Ōno district, Mino province, went out to look for a good wife. After a long time he met in the field a beautiful woman, of whom he asked: "Will you become my wife?" She consented; whereupon he took her with him to his house and married her. After a while she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. At that time there was a puppy in the house, which always barked at its mistress. She beseeched her husband to kill the beast, because she was very much afraid of it, but he did not do so, although he loved her greatly. Once on a certain day the dog made as if it would bite her, but withdrew barking. Suddenly the frightened woman changed into a fox (yakan, 野干), which climbed upon the fence and sat there, while the husband, looking at the transformed wife, said: "Between you and me a child has been born, therefore I cannot forget you. Come always and sleep with me." She acted in accordance with her husband's words and came to sleep with him. For this reason she was called Ki-tsune ("come-always", 岐都禰, ki-tsu-ne). She wore at that time

1. Ch. XXII, K.T.X. I, p. 395.

2. The full title of the *Ryō-i ki* is "*Nihonkoku genpō zen-aku ryō-i ki*", 日本國現報善惡靈異記, "Record of the Supernatural Phenomena by which good and bad were manifestly rewarded and punished in the Japanese Empire." It contains the "rewards and punishments" (ingwa ōhō, 因果應報, in a Buddhistic sense) of the time from the Emperor Yūryaku (457-479) to that of the Emperor Kōnin (770-781), cf. *Gunsho ruijū*, Index p. 352. The author of this work, the Buddhist priest KEIKAI, 景戒, lived in the time of the Emperor Kōken (749-758). Although the author of the *Kokusho kaidai* (p. 1561) calls the work *Rei-i ki* instead of *Ryō-i ki*, the latter reading must be right. The legend is to be found in the *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 447, Vol. XVI, p. 24; and, further, in the *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略記, Ch. III, K.T.K. VI, p. 486 sq., and in the *Mizu kagami*, 水鏡, written in the second half of the twelfth century, Ch. I, K.T.K. XVII, p. 373.

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a scarlet-painted dress. Her child was called Ki-tsu-ne, 伎都禰. He grew to be a very strong man and could run as fastly as a bird can fly.

So far the *Ryō-i ki*; and the author of the *Fusō ryakki* adds: "In the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was a man called 'Mino no kitsune', 三野狐, 'the Fox of Mino', who was perhaps this very child."

In the *Konjaku monogatari*[1] we read a story about a very tall and strong woman who lived in Mino province at the time of the Emperor Shōmu and was called "the Fox of Mino"; she was said to be a descendant of the fourth generation of the fox mentioned in the old legend of the *Ryō-i-ki*.

In the *Zenka hiki*[2] we find the first version of a curious old legend, quoted in the *Fusō ryakki*[3] and told again in the *Konjaku monogatari*[4] and in the *Genkō shakusho*[5]. It runs as follows:—

In the fifth year of the Kwambei era (893) the author of the *Zenka hiki* became Governor of Bichū province. At that time there was in Kaya district a man called Kaya Yoshifuji, who was very rich and by means of his money secured the position of shōmoku (小目, a high official) of Bizen province. In Kwambei 8 (896) he resigned his post and after that time was living in Hongō Ashimori. As his wife, who was a very lewd character, had run away from him to the capital, he lived quite alone. Suddenly he became crazy and wrote and recited love letters and poems to an imaginary woman. This lasted for 20 or 30 days, till at last he disappeared and was sought for in vain by the inmates of the house. His relations, all very rich and men of great distinction, were convinced that he had

1. 今昔物語, written before 1077; Ch, XXIII, nr 17, K.T,K. XVI, p. 1005; see below.

2. 善家秘記, written by Miyoshi Kiyotsura, 三善清行, who lived 844-916.

3. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. VI, p. 644, see below.

4. Ch. XVI, nr 17, K.T.K Vol. XVI, p. 930.

5. 元亨釋書, written before 1346, Ch. XXIX, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 1157.

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committed suicide, and they vowed that they would make an image of the eleven-faced Kwannon, if they found the body of the unhappy man. Thereupon they cut down an oak and made the outline of the image, giving it exactly the same length as that of Yoshifuji's body. Then they bowed before this would-be statue and repeated the vow. This they did for 13 days, when to their extreme amazement Yoshifuji crept from under his godown, thin and pale as if he had been seriously ill. The floor of the godown was only 4 or 5 sun[1] from the ground, so that it was almost impossible for a man to get under it. Yet he had been lying there for thirteen days. After having recovered his senses sufficiently to give an account of his adventures, he told how a girl had several times brought him love letters and poems from a princess, and how he had answered them in the same vein. "At last," he said, "the girl came with a magnificent carriage and four postilions, to take me to the princess. After a drive of about ten miles we arrived at a splendid palace, where an exquisite meal and a very hearty reception from the princess soon made me feel quite at ease. There I lived with her, as inseparably as two branches growing together upon the same tree. She gave birth to a son, a very intelligent and beautiful child, which I loved so much that I thought about degrading my son Tadasada and putting this child in his place as son of my principal wife,—this in view of the high rank of the princess. But after three years a Buddhist priest suddenly entered the room of Her Highness, carrying a stick in his hand. The effect of his appearance was astonishing. Chamberlains and Court ladies all fled to left and right, and even the princess hid herself somewhere. The priest pushed me from behind with his stick and made me go out of the house through a very narrow passage. When I looked back I discovered that I had just crept from under my own godown!"

1. 1 sun=1,193 inches.

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This tale struck all the inmates with wonder. Immediately they demolished the godown and lo! twenty or thirty *foxes* came from under it and fled in all directions to the mountains. Yoshifuji, bewitched by these supernatural foxes (reiko, 靈狐), had been lying under the godown for thirteen days, fancying that he was spending three years in a palace. As to the priest, this was a metamorphosis of Kwannon[1], who of her pity had broken the force of the wicked sorcery. Then Yoshifuji was wholly cured and lived on for more than ten years thereafter.

It is interesting to compare herewith a story which we find in the *Shimpen otogizōshi*[2]. Apparently the above legend has inspired the author of the *Kitsune zōshi*. In this it is a Buddhist priest who gets a love letter from a lady, and is conveyed to her house in a splendid carriage drawn by an ox and escorted by three servants. The woman is beautiful and the house rich, and there are a great number of samurai and attendant ladies, who amuse themselves with feasting and drinking. The priest who is greatly influenced by the surrounding splendor, soon learns how to enjoy the luxurious life with the charming lady. He spends months and years there until one day a loud noise is heard at the gate and three or four young Buddhist priests come in, carrying crosiers[3] in their hands. The lady of the house and her servants flee away in great alarm, and the astonished priest sees them all change into foxes and run off in all directions.

Quite stupified he looks about him and discovers that he is lying under the floor of the main building of the Kongō-shōin, a Buddhist temple in Kyōto. What he had thought to be blinds and floor mats (tatami) were nothing but pieces of rough matting made of straw and reeds. The musical instruments

1. According to the *Konjaku monogatari* it was a layman, a metamorphosis of the Kwannon image which the relations had made.

2. 新篇御伽草子, published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI in 1901, Vol. II, Kitsune zōshi, 狐草子, dating from the Muromachi period (1378-1601).

2. 錫杖, shakujō, staves with their tops armed with metal rings, carried by travelling priests.

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appeared to be horse and cow bones, and the plates and dishes were only broken saddles and skulls. His clothes consisted of pieces of old and dirty paper, and his whole appearance was so ridiculous, that some little boys, who were playing there and saw him creeping from under the building, broke forth into loud laughter and clapped their hands and danced with glee. A samurai, who knew the priest, was just passing and looked to see what all this laughter meant. He could hardly recognize his reverend friend and got no answer from him to his astonished questions. Then he took off the paper rags and gave the priest his own upper garment; but as the bonze was very tall, he still looked ridiculous and his legs were wholly visible. In this condition he arrived at his village. Although he thought to have been seven years in the mysterious house of his fancy, in reality he had spent only seven days under the temple. It was Jizō, who had saved him.

B. *Eleventh Century.*

The *Genji monogatari*[1] contains the following tale. A bishop who was travelling, once passed the night in a lonely house, which had such a dirty and awful appearance, that he was asked by his companions to read a sutra in order to drive away all evil influences. When two of them went behind the house with torches, they saw in the frightful looking wood a mysterious being, big and white, which they supposed to be the metamorphosis (henge, 變化) of a fox. Immediately they told the bishop about it, who said: "Although I have heard about the haunting of foxes, I have never seen it; therefore I will have a look." After these words he went out. The man whom they had found alone in the house said: "Foxes haunt the place here, but they are worthless creatures," and he did not show any fear. Afterwards the mysterious being appeared to be no spook at all, but only an ordinary girl.

1. 源氏物語, written in 1004, Ch. 手習.

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In the *O-u-ki*[1] we read the following: "On the fourth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Chōguen era (1031), the Saigū[2] called with a loud voice, not to be compared with other (human voices. A god (namely, a fox) spoke through her mouth. She was mad and built two Shintō temples which she dedicated to the gods of the Naigū and Gegū.[3] Thereupon she summoned all kinds of worthless people and made them dance the kagura[4] and perform other frantic dances night and day. Then the sorceresses of the capital began to worship a fox (imitating the Saigū) and to declare this animal to be the great divinity of Ise (太神宮). Such things are very wicked."

For the study of fox-lore as well as for that of the Tengu the *Konjaku monogatari*[5] is a very rich field. Besides the above mentioned tale, borrowed from the *Zenka kiki*[6], we find in this book the several fox legends, given below, but the tanuki or mujina are not mentioned.

Fujiwara no Toshihito, who lived in the Engi era (901-922), once caught a fox and said to it: "Go to my house in Tsuruga and say that I am coming with guests and that they must send some servants with two saddled horses to-morrow at the hour of the snake (9-11 A.M.) to the neighbourhood of Takashima." Thereupon he let the fox go, and it ran away, looking back several times. The next morning thirty men on horseback came to meet their master at the appointed place and told a strange story. "Last night," they said, "at the hour of the dog (7-9 P.M.), our mistress felt

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1. 小右記, a diary of FUJIWARA NO SANESUKE, 實資, also called ONO NO MIYA, 小野宮, who lived 956-1046. He was Udaijin, "Right Minister", hence the title of the book "Diary of the Udaijin Ono no miya."

2. 齋宮, Itsuki no miya, a virgin princess of the Blood, who was sent to the Imperial shrine at Ise at the time of the coronation of an Emperor to stay there until the latter's death or abdication.

3. The Inner and Outer Temple at Ise.

4. A sacred pantomimic dance with music.

5. 今昔物語, written before 1077 by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, who died in that year.

6. See above p. 21.

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indisposed and had a severe pain in the breast. A Buddhist priest was called in, but the patient said: 'Why are you all so anxious? It is nothing particular, I am only a fox. I was caught by your master who is on the way home, and he ordered me to tell you to send some men with two saddled horses to the neighbourhood of Takashima, as he is coming with guests. Please do so, otherwise it will go hard with me.' We decided to go with the horses, and at once the lady recovered (the fox had left her)." Toshihito smiled and ordered his attendant to go to his house and announce his arrival. There they were astonished to hear that the fox had spoken the truth. The next day, when they were enjoying a nice meal of enormous mountain potatoes, they discovered the fox sitting on the top of a roof and looking at them. As a reward for sending the message he got some food and then went away.[1]

One evening a very good looking young man met at the Sujaku gate in Kyōto a beautiful woman with whom he at once fell in love. She refused at first to accept his proposals, saying that it would be his death to sleep with her, but at last she gave way, saying that she would die in his place. At the same time she asked him to bury her and copy a part of the Saddharma pundarīka sūtra (Hokkekyō, 法花經), and to offer it on behalf of her soul. He laughed at her pessimistic notions but promised to do as she said, whereupon they spent the night together. At daybreak she went away saying: "I take your fan with me; if you come to-morrow to the Butoku-den, this fan will prove to you that I spoke the truth, and you will recognize me." The next day he went to the place indicated and saw a dead fox with the fan over its face. Deeply moved he buried the animal, and every seventh day wrote a part of the Hokkekyō and offered it in a temple. In the night of the 49th

1. Ch. XXVI, nr 17, K.T.K. XVI, pp. 1203 sqq. The same legend is to be found in the *Uji shūi monogatari*, 宇治拾遺物語, Ch. I, K.T.K. XVII, pp. 22 sqq.

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day he saw the woman in a dream as an angel, surrounded by numberless other angels. She explained to him that she had been reborn in the Trāyastrimçat heaven[1] by virtue of the sūtra. After uttering these words she ascended to the sky to the accompaniment of heavenly music.[2]

At the time of the Emperor Shōmu (724-749) there was in the province of Mino a very strong and tall woman, who was called "the Fox of Mino." She was a descendant, of the fourth generation, of a man who had been married to a fox from the same province. She had the strength of a hundred men and abused the power by robbing the merchants who came and went to and from the market place. But at last she was overcome by a much smaller woman from Owari province, who forced her to stop her bad behaviour forever.[3]

At the time when the Empress Jōtōmon-in, Consort of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011), lived in the Kyōgoku-den, a palace in Kyōto, she heard, on the twentieth of the third month, when the cherry blossoms were in full bloom, a divine voice reciting an old-time verse, in which the smell of the blossoms was praised. But there was nobody to be seen at the time who could have spoken these words. This made the Empress anxious, and the people were in doubt. They did not believe that it had been a *fox*, but were inclined to consider the work that of a *spirit*[4]; although it was strange that the voice had been heard in the middle of the day, while spirits are wont to appear in the night.[5]

A wet-nurse found herself alone with a child of two years in her arms at the southern front of the house of her master, when the latter suddenly heard her crying for help. He ran with sword in hand to the spot and saw to his utmost astonish-

1. 忉利天, Tō-ri ten, also written 忉利天, the "heaven of 33 (devas)", where Indra reigns.

2. Ch. XIV, nr 5, p. 759. The same legend occurs in the *Kokon chomonshū*, 古今著聞集, Ch. XX, K.T.K. XV, pp. 589 sq. According to a note it is found in the *Hokkeden*, 法花傳.

3. Ch. XXIII, nr 17, p. 1005.

4. Mono no rei, 物ノ靈.

5. Ch. XXVII, nr 28, p. 1259.

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ment two wet-nurses, who were exactly alike both pulling at the child but from opposite sides. Which was the real nurse, and which the fox, or something of the kind? The frightened father brandished his sword, whereupon one of the women suddenly disappeared and the other and the child fell down unconscious. A Buddhist priest was immediately sent for, who by means of incantations brought the nurse to her senses. The other woman, she declared, had appeared to her and laid hold of the child, saying: "That child is mine," but she, the nurse, had held fast to it; and they were struggling together when the master came. Nobody could say whether it was a *fox* or a *spirit*.[1]

A maid-servant received a message from her master ordering her to come at once to a house which he had rented. She hurried to the place with her child and found her mistress who gave her plenty of food and after four or five days sent her back. She left the child there, as she was soon to return. But when she arrived at the former house, she found there to her amazement those whom she had just left in the newly rented house. They asked her where she had been staying for so long a time, and did not believe her story. Then she ran back to the mysterious house and found only a lonely heath, where her child was lying alone in the grass, crying helplessly. Probably the woman had been deluded by foxes.[2]

A man who went out in the midst of a dark winter night to call a priest for his sick mother, saw on the top of a gate a glittering being which continually sneezed and laughed aloud. Thinking that it was a fox he ran away, half dead with fright. A little further on he discovered a round glittering thing which cried aloud. He shot at and hit it with an arrow when it burst into fragments and disappeared. This was certainly a trick of foxes.[3]

1. Ch. XXVII, nr 29, p. 1260.
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 32, p. 1265.
3. Same chapter, nr 33, p. 1267.

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In the clear moonlight two men were seeking a horse which had been lost in the mountains. All at once they stood before an enormous cryptomeria which they had never seen at that spot before. They came to the conclusion that they had been led astray by some god, and decided to go back after having marked the tree with two arrows in order to find it the next day. But lo! as soon as their arrows hit the tree, it vanished. Then they knew clearly that it was a spook, and, frightened, took to their heels. The next day they went back to the spot and found instead of the tree the body of an old fox, with a cryptomeria twig in its mouth and the two arrows in its belly. Such was the fellow that had played them the trick![1]

A man who belonged to the Imperial Guards met in the bright moonlight a beautiful woman, with whom he began to converse. But she continually kept her fan before her face. When they had entered together the gate of the Imperial Guards, the man suddenly remembered what he had heard about men being deceived by foxes in the Hōraku-in (within the Palace), and decided to try and find out whether or not this woman was an animal of that sort. He drew his sword, grasped her by her hair and pressed her against a pillar, threatening to kill her. But she jumped about in a most violent manner, and discharged urine which stank dreadfully so that he let go of her, whereupon she changed into a fox and ran out of the gate, crying: "kō, kō." The man regretted very much that he had not killed the woman at once. If one meets a beautiful lady in a lonely place, he had better keep aloof.[2]

A spirit[3], which possessed a person and made him (or her) ill, was transferred to a "monotsuki no onna"[4] (a woman called for the purpose of placing within her a bad spirit), and it spoke

1. Same chapter, nr 37, p. 1273.
2. Same chapter, nr 38, p. 1275.
3. Mono no ke, 物ノ氣.
4. 物託ノ女, "possession-woman".

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through her mouth to the following effect: "I am a fox. I have not come to do evil, but only to have a look round, because I thought that there was plenty of food at such places as this; the result was that I (that is the patient) was kept indoors." After these words she took from her bosom a white gem of the size of a small mandarin-orange (mikan), threw it up and caught it again. People who saw this said: "That is a strange gem. Probably the 'possession-woman' had that gem already in her pocket in order to delude mankind." Then a young man caught the gem, when the woman threw it up, and put it in his pocket. The fox which possessed the woman, begged him to give back the gem, but he refused, whereupon the fox wept and said: "To you the ball is valueless, for you do not know how to use it. Therefore, if you do not give it back to me, I will be your enemy for ever, but if you give it back, I will help and protect you as a god." The young man made the woman repeat the promise and then returned the gem. Afterwards, when an exorcist[1] had driven out the fox, the gem was no longer to be found in the woman's pocket. This was a proof that it had really been the property of the being (that is, of the fox) which had possessed her. The fox kept his promise. Once when the young man was going home in a dark night, he became quite anxious and called the fox to his aid. Immediately the animal appeared and led him forward cautiously and stealing along a narrow lane instead of the main road. From a distance he could see the reason of this strange behaviour, for there were a great number of thieves, armed with bows and sticks, on the road where he would have passed if the fox had not led him elsewhere. At the end of the lane the fox disappeared and the man went on safely to his home. Many times he was helped and protected by the animal, a proof, says the author, of how much more grateful animals are than men.[2]

1. 験者, kensha.
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 40, p. 1278.

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At a river in the neighbourhood of Kyōto it often happened that people who passed on horseback on their way to the capital saw in the evening a dirty looking girl, who asked them to take her up behind them on their horses. If they did so, she sat on the horse for a distance of four or five chō[1] and then jumped off and ran away in the shape of a crying fox. One day a young man decided to put a stop to the tricks of this animal, and rode alone to the spot, but he did not see her. On his way back to the capital, however, the girl appeared with the ordinary request. He took her on the horse and bound her tightly to the saddle. When they arrived at the gate, he delivered her into the hands of the guards, but she escaped and ran away as a fox. At the same time gate and guards all vanished as if they were wiped out of existence. When the man looked about him, he found himself in the open field and his horse was nowhere to be seen.[2]

Other legends tell about foxes which caused a man to wander about in the night without finding the right way,[3] and others that caused strange faces to appear in the night under the ceiling of an old chapel, which was supposed to be inhabited by a demon Once when three men passed the night there, they saw the faces but drove them away by brandishing their swords. This put an end to the fear of the people in the neighbourhood.[4] Further, we read that "frightening people is the work of old foxes which can all be killed by a single falcon or dog"[5]; and still another story tells about a fox being the double of a woman, and when attacked by the husband escaping in the same way as in the other tales.[6]

Finally, we read a story dating from the time of the Emperor Sanjō (1011-1016) as follows: In Mino province there was a ford in a river, where people who waded across in

1. 1 chō, 町, is 119 yards 11 inches, 1/36 of a ri (里, 2 miles, 775 yards).
2. Ch. XXVII, nr 41, p. 1280.
3. Same chapter, nr 42, p. 1284.
4. Same chapter, nr 44, p. 1287.
5. Same chapter, nr 31, p. 1262.
6. Same chapter, nr 39, p. 1276.

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the night often heard a woman giving birth to a crying child and saying: "Take it in your arms." Once a fearless man took the child and refused to give it back, but on reaching his home he found that it was nothing but tree leaves. Some people said that this was the work of a *fox*, others supposed that the woman in the river was the ghost of a woman who had died in childbirth.[1]

These legends clearly show the various ideas about the fox which were prevalent at that time. Though sometimes useful to men, the animal played tricks on them for the most part, not so much for the purpose of doing them harm as to frighten and annoy them. In order to accomplish this aim they not only took a human, mostly female, shape, but also changed themselves into trees or mysterious glittering beings. Possession was common, as well as appearing in the form of a woman's double. It is very probable that the white gem, used by the fox in one of the legends, simply means its soul, which is often thought to have the shape of a white, glittering ball; it reminds us of the pearl which foxes hold in the mouth in Chinese legends.[2]

C. *Twelfth Century.*

The *Kobi no ki*[3] contains the following: "In the third year of the Kōwa era (1101) there were in the capital many different cases of fox-haunting. At the first the foxes gave meals (to the people) before the Sujaku gate, preparing rice from horse dung and vegetables from cow bones. Afterwards they did the same behind the Shikibushō (the Department of Rites and Ceremonies) and before the gates of the houses of the Kuge (Court nobles) and samurai. The people called it 'Great fox-banquets.'"

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1. Same chapter, nr 43, p. 1285.

2. See above p. 7.

3. 狐媚記, "Fox-haunting record," written by ŌE NO MASAFUSA, (大江匡房), who lived 1040-1111, after 1101, for that year is mentioned in the legend. We find the work in the *Gunsho ruijū* as nr 135, Vol. VI, p. 968.

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"Minamoto no Takayasu, the Zusho no sŭke (Librarian), went to the Sai-in[1] of Kamo (jinja). His carriage stood outside the gate. When night fell two or three young court nobles[2] and two women entered the carriage and drove away in the moonlight. They passed the Kamo gawa and came to the bank of the river at Shichijō (Shichijō kawara). On the way they met the Captain of the Right Imperial Guards, Nakahara no Iesue. In the carriage their nice red garments were clearly visible, although it was night[3]. The Captain was astonished and the boy, who managed the ox before the carriage, could not endure it any longer and fell with his face to the ground in the middle of the road. Then the court nobles gave him a red fan and suddenly went away. There were traces of fox paws on the cross bar of the carriage[4]. The ox boy went home, and when he looked at the fan next day, he saw that it was a bone. He immediately fell ill and died within a few days. His master, who was very much afraid, was minded to burn the carriage, but in his dream a divine man came to him and said: 'Please do not burn it; I will reward you (for the use of it).' At the change of magistrates the next year he was appointed Librarian (the reward of the fox)."

In the subsequent story the Emperor Horikawa (1086-1107) is escorted by mysterious horsemen, who cover their faces with their sleeves, and when they are asked who they are gallop away without answering. They disappear after having passed the Sujaku gate which was apparently the favourite haunting spot of foxes. Another time a bishop, famous for expounding Buddha's Law, was asked by an old woman to come to her

1. 齋院, a virgin princess of the Blood, of the same rank as the Saigū (齋宮) of Ise, and residing in the Kamo shrine at Kyōto.

2. 雲客, un-kaku.

3. The "kitsune-bi" or "fox-fire" made them quite distinct in the darkness.

4. 軾, shoku, the bar on which the person in the carriage was leaning when he bowed and saluted.

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house in order to hold a service there. He promised to come; but the woman came the same evening and made her request again. So he went with her passing along the Sujaku road in Rokujō (Kyōto), which had its usual appearance with its magnificent houses and temples. In the house when they entered it the offerings were ready, but there was no one to attend. Behind a blind somebody clapped his hands, and all of a sudden wine was brought in. The astonished bishop did not eat or drink anything, but first sat down before the butsu-dan (the Buddhist house shrine) and struck the prayer bell with a single stroke. Suddenly the light became red and the dishes which had been prepared for the priest appeared to be a kind of dung. The whole occurrence was so startling that the bishop was quite unnerved and fled half dead with fright. The next day he went to look for the house, but there was no trace of it to be found. Apparently the foxes had hoped to make the bishop ill by causing him to eat the abominable food, but their magic power came suddenly to an end at the first stroke on the prayer bell.

A man (that is, a metamorphosed fox) bought a house in Kyōgoku in the district of Shichijō (Kyōto). Afterwards he destroyed the house, went to the Toribe field (the burial place) and used the boards of the house for burial materials (as fuel for the pile). What he had paid for the house seemed to be gold, silver and silk, but afterwards it all appeared to be nothing but old straw sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns.

MASAFUSA adds: "There are many examples of trans-formation of foxes in the annals of history..... I have not hitherto believed those (Chinese) tales, but now I have seen with my own eyes the same strange things in Japan. Although the world is approaching its end, the spooks are just the same as in olden times; this is most queer."[1]

1. *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. VI, p. 969.

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The *Fusō ryakki*[1] contains, besides the above mentioned tales, quoted from the *Zenka hiki*[2] and the *Ryō-i ki*[3], the following legend.

"In the biography of the abbot Sō-ō (相應)[4] we read: 'In the fourth year of the Ninna era (888) the Empress Rokujō was ill. At that time the abbot was 60 years old. He was summoned (to the Palace) and came in order to recite incantations. For three days and three nights he did not move from his seat and took no thought of either sleep or food. On the morning of the fourth day the Empress cried aloud, bent her body and rolled on the floor so violently that the bedroom nearly collapsed. In the meantime there appeared from the north-west corner of the bed curtain a supernatural fox (靈狐, reiko) which anxiously ran to and fro in all directions. The Dajōdaijin (Prime Minister of State) and all the others who were present trembled with fear and quite lost their presence of mind. Then the abbot read the 'Salvation-mantra'[5], whereupon the house stopped shaking and the fox departed. The Empress recovered and the Emperor rewarded the abbot in an imperial way."[6]

Further, several bad omina were observed within the Palace, namely, of foxes copulating[7], or howling[8]. or climbing upon a roof[9], or passing urine in the Emperor's room[10], or sitting in the seat of a high official[11]. In 905 a fox died in the Principal Administrative Department of the Benkwan (in the

1. 扶桑略記, "Abridged History of Japan," written in the 12th century by the priest Kwō-EN, 皇圓, the teacher of the priest GENKŪ, 源空 (1132-1212).
2. See above p. 21.
3. See above p. 20.
4. The same abbot exorcised in 865 a Tengu who possessed and tormented the Empress (Kojidan, Ch. III, K.T.K. XV, p. 66, comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 46).
5. Gedatsu no ju, 解脫咒.
6. Ch. XXII, K.T.K. Vol. VI, p. 634.
7. Ch. XXIII, p. 650, in 898.
8. Ch. XXIII, p. 66), in 902.
9. Ch. XXIII, p, 671, in 909.
10. Ch. XXIV, p. 684, in 927.
11. Ch. XXV, p. 722, in 932.

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Palace). As there was doubt whether or not the room had become unclean by reason of this fact, it was no longer used for official purposes. But the Emperor issued a decree, stating that the building was not to be considered as unclean[1]. The same question rose in 909, when a fox had died within the Inner gate of the Palace. The Udaijin (Right Minister), ordered the Secretary (外記, geki) to examine the precedents as to the question whether or not such a thing had been declared to render the Palace unclean; for if this was the case, the religious ceremony of the next day could not take place. The Secretary answered that it had always been considered as making the Palace unclean, whereupon the Udaijin reported the matter to the Emperor. But His Majesty said: "As the fox does not belong to the six domestic animals, the Palace is not to be considered as unclean; moreover it is not mentioned in the rules regarding the ceremony."

FUJIWARA NO YORINAGA[2] relates in his diary, entitled *Taiki*[3], how in 1144 a boy of 16 years was seduced by a fox in the shape of a young woman in the Nōden (a building of the Palace) and in consequence caught a bad venereal disease. A few days before a fox had come under the eaves and looked at him. "I never heard such strange things before", remarks the writer.

On the same page he gives the following account: "In olden times there were many foxes in a certain yashiki (compound of a nobleman) at Kyōto. When, a few years ago, these foxes reappeared, there a bow and arrow were set up (as a kind of magic) to prevent them from coming, but it had no effect and they showed themselves precisely as before. Thereupon I laid food (a bait, probably poisoned) at the fox-door[4]

1. Ch. XXIII, p. 670.

2. 藤原頼長, who lived 1120-1156.

3. 台記, a diary which runs from 1142 till 1155.

4. Kitsune-do, a lattice door, through which one could see from inside without being seen from outside.

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and since that time no foxes appeared there any more. What makes me sure that the foxes were divine spirits (神靈) is that they were not tempted by the bait or terrified by the bow-sorcery; these were clearly of no effect. But within the compound of the yashiki there is a little old shrine, and it was the god of this which probably caused the foxes to appear. Moreover the mansion repeatedly escaped the fires which occurred from time to time on all sides of it, and even one which broke out within itself did no damage".

Here we see the fox as a seducer of young men, just as in China, but on the other hand as a protector against fire. The divinity of the shrine mentioned was probably Inari, the Rice goddess.

Another diary, the *Sankaiki*[1], contains the following details. On the fifth day of the sixth month of the second year of the Jijō era (1178) there was a discussion at the Court about a fox which had been killed by means of an arrow in the neighbourhood of the palace of the Saigū at Ise. When the Emperor asked for precedents, it was reported to him that in 1072 the third son of Narisūke, the former Lord of Yamato province, namely, Fujiwara no Nakasue, who had killed a spiritual fox (靈狐, reiko) in the office of the Saigū at Ise (the white foxes at Ise were called *shira-tōme*, 白專女), was banished to Tōsa province. And in 1132 a fox was killed before the palace of the Saigū. On hearing this report the Emperor ordered a Doctor of Law to investigate the law on the subject. When this Doctor gave the results of his research, they corresponded to the report already made (that is, in respect to exile as punishment). According to the Law it was forbidden to shoot an arrow in the compound of a palace, and the killing of a fox was as great a crime as the killing of a divine spirit (神靈).

1. 山槐記, diary of NAKAYAMA TADACHIKA, 中山忠親, who lived 1130-1195.

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In the *Hyakurensho*[1] we find both these cases (of 1072 and 1178) mentioned; while the *Gukwansho*[2] and the *Jikkinsho*[3] refer to the former case only.

D. *Thirteenth Century.*

The *Kojidan*[4] speaks of a pupil of Bishop Enzen (延禪) who was sick for a long time with an intermittent fever The bishop, supposing he was possessed, went out into the street and humbly begged for food, which he gave to the boy in the belief that this humiliating act would benefit him. The boy folded his arms and said: "I am a divine fox; but being opposed by your powerful influence, I do not know what to do. Henceforth I will never come again."

In the *Uji shūi monogatari*[5] we read the following legends: A samurai who went home one evening met a fox, which he pursued and hit with an arrow in its loin. The fox tumbled down and howled loudly, and then limped away through the grass. The animal went on for two chō before the samurai in the direction of the latter's house, which was at a distance of only four or five chō. When the man saw that the animal had fire in its mouth, he set spurs to his horse, but it was already too late. The fox, on arriving at the house, had transformed itself into a man and set the house on fire. The samurai, who thought that it was the work of a real man, pursued him, but the fox resumed his vulpine form and disappeared into the high grass. The house was burnt down. Even such creatures take immediate revenge for wrongs done to them; it is better not to shoot them.[6]

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1. 百錬抄, written after 1259, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, Ch. V, p. 44 and Ch. VIII, p. 127.
2. 愚管抄, written after 1225, Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 46.
3. 十訓抄, written in 1252, Ch. X, nr 31. K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 809.
4. 古事談, written 1210-1220, Ch. III, K. T. K. Vol. XV, p. 77.
5. 宇治拾遺物語, written 1213-18; but according to FLORENZ, Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur, p. 244, much later, shortly before 1333.
6. Ch. III, K. T. K. XVII, p. 85.

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In olden times a *mono no ke* (the spirit of a being), who had possessed a person and made him ill, was transferred to a woman (by the incantations of an exorcist) and spoke by the mouth of the woman[1] the following words: "I am no curse-causing spirit. I am a fox which passed by here seeking for food. My children, which are in a grave-house, are hungry and I came here because I thought I would find some food for them; when I have eaten an offering-rice cake, I will go away." Thereupon the possession-woman was given such a cake and after eating it with a voracious appetite, she asked for some more to take to her parents and children. When she got this she put it into her bosom and requested the exorcist to drive the fox out of her, for it was the fox that was speaking through her all the time. Then the woman fell on her face and after a while rose up; but strangely enough the rice cake had by that time disappeared out of her bosom! Apparently the fox had taken the cake away with him.[2]

A *tanuki* trick is told in the same work.[3] A holy man, who lived in a mountain for many years, was often visited by a hunter, who had a great veneration for him and always brought him food. One day the saint told the hunter that Fugen Bosatsu[4] came night after night as a sign of the efficacy of his (the saint's) prayers. The hunter, who was curious to see this miracle, stayed there hoping to see it; and in the middle of the night the Bodhisattva really appeared, seated on his white elephant. The devout hermit wept and worshipped, but the hunter, who thought it queer that such a divine apparition should be visible even to the eyes of common people like himself and the young servant of the hermit, decided to put it to the test. From behind the praying saint he shot an arrow in the

1. A mono-tsuki no onna, "possession-woman," comp. the tale of the *Konjaku monogatari*, Ch. XXVII, nr 39, above p. 29.

2. Ch. IV, p. 86.

3. Ch. VIII, p. 170.

4. 普賢菩薩, Samantabhadra.

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direction of Fugen, and lo! the glorious Bodhisattva disappeared at once and there was a sound as of something tumbling down into the valley. The next day they found a big *tanuki* with the arrow in its dead body. The good hermit had been deceived by this animal because he lacked knowledge, and the hunter by means of reflection discovered the trick.

This is the first passage in Japanese literature where we find the *tanuki* mentioned as haunting men. It is clear that this animal appeared in Japanese folklore much later than the fox and the mujina. For with the *Uji shūi monogatari* we are already at the beginning of the thirteenth century (or later), and the above mentioned list of forebodings (p. 15), which includes the crying of tanuki on the different zodiacal days, dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. The reason for this late appearance is that the importance of the tanuki in Chinese folklore is not to be compared with that of the fox. The legends were rare and therefore did not find their way among the Japanese people as early as did those of the fox.

In the *Gukwanshō*[1] we read that Bishop Ji-en (probably the author of the Gukwanshō) wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198), who believed that the ghost of the Emperor Go Shirakawa had spoken by the mouths of certain persons three in number, ordering the people to worship him. The bishop wrote, as I mentioned in my paper on the Tengu,[2] that he considered the matter to be the work of *foxes* or Tengu, which already in olden times liked to be worshipped and to throw the world into confusion. The Emperor followed the bishop's advice and took no notice of the ghost's command. With respect to one of the possessed persons, a woman, the Bishop said: "If it is clear that she is not possessed by a *fox* or tanuki (狐狸, kori) and that she has spoken voluntarily (that is, if she has tried to deceive the Emperor and the people), than she must certainly be banished. But although men

1. 愚管抄, written before 1225, Ch. VI, K.T.K. XIV, p. 556 sq.
2. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 50.

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are strange beings, I do not believe that this is the case. It is certainly a fox or a Tengu, that has caused her to speak so. If the woman is simply put away in some corner, the fox or tanuki will at last go out of her and keep quiet thereafter." So the Emperor ordered the woman to be sent to a mountain monastery, where she gradually recovered.

This is the first time that we come across the term *kori* (foxes and tanuki), so common in later days. In another passage of the same work[1] "Celestial Dogs" and "Terrestrial Dogs" (天狗地狗) are mentioned by the writer as the probable authors of the unprecedented event of a Fujiwara's (namely Yoritsune's) becoming Shōgun of Kamakura (1219). For this matter caused great indignation among the other members of the Fujiwara family. BAKIN[2] gathers from the fact that the Tengu are bracketed now with foxes and again with "Terrestrial Dogs," that the latter must be the same as foxes.

In the *Gempei seisuiki*[3] we read the following:—The Emperor Shirakawa (1072-1086) went on one occasion late at night with a few followers to the Gion temple at Kyōto, in order to visit a woman for whom he had built a palace in that neighbourhood. It was pitch-dark, as the moon had not yet risen. Suddenly a light appeared, which was extinguished the next moment, but came again directly and in such fantastic form that the Emperor shivered with fear. Tadamori, who was sent ahead to seize the light and bring it to his Imperial Master, thought that it was a demon or an *old fox* of the Gion wood. Slowly and stealthily he rode in the direction of the mysteriously shining thing, and was about to make a violent attack upon it with his long sword, when a voice was heard and he discovered that it was simply an old priest bearing a torch, who had been sent by the abbot to meet the Emperor.[4]

1. Ch. VII, p. 597.
2. *Nimaze no kizenshū*, 烹雑の記前集 (written in 1811), p. 1054. Comp. my treatise on the Tengu, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part 2, p. 51.
3. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250; Teikoku Bunko, 帝國文庫, Vol. V.
4. Ch. XXVI, p. 676.

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When Tsunemasa, Lord of Tamba, went as a pilgrim to Chikubu island, he spent a whole night there praying to Benzaiten to protect him against his enemies and to cause the Imperial Majesty to shine over all the country. At daybreak he heard the sound of the waves of the lake, and of the wind blowing through the pine trees, and in the joy of his heart he played several times on a biwa (lute), which one of the priests gave him, to the delight of all the priests who were present and who wept with admiration. Benten accepted the musical offering; for from above the front steps of the temple a *white fox* appeared, and, walking in the garden, the animal looked watchfully in the direction of the Lord of Tamba. It was a wonderful thing indeed. Tsunemasa thankfully considered this fox a manifestation of the goddess and did not doubt that his prayer would be answered. After he had given expression to his joy in the shape of a poem, the fox cried "kō, kō", and hid itself behind the temple.[1]

One day Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) pursued a big fox on the Rendai plain, and was already about to shoot it, when the fox suddenly changed into a yellow woman, who smiled and spoke to him, saying: "If you spare my life, I will fulfill your wish." On hearing these words Kiyomori removed the arrow from the bow and asked the woman who she was. She answered: "I am the 'King in the midst of the 74 roads.'"[2] "Then you are probably the '*Deva-King the Venerable Fox*,'"[3] Kiyomori said, and alighting from his horse he reverently bowed himself down before her. Thereupon the woman resumed her former fox shape and disappeared, crying "kō, kō". Kiyomori reflected upon the matter in the following way: "It is the work of the God of the Kitchen[4] that I am poor. For attaining wealth by suppressing the Kitchen-god, Benten's 'beautiful names'[5]

1. Ch. XXVIII, p. 728.
2. 七十四道の中の王.
3. 貴狐天王, Kiko Tennō, that is, Dagini Ten.
4. 竈神, Kwōjin.
5. 妙音, myō-on.

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are unsurpassed. One of those names, is the 'Deva-King the Venerable Fox', of to-day. Therefore I must fully practice the 'Law of Daten'[1]."

"The Chinese Empress Pao Sz',[2] after having ruined the Emperor Yiu[3] of the Western Cheu dynasty (B.C. 781), became a fox with three tails which cried 'kō kō' and entered an old grave. The fox changed itself into a beautiful woman in order to enchant men, and by means of a bewitching smile she did no end of mischief; eight or nine out of every ten men were seduced by her"[4] ..... "In order to ruin the Emperor Yiu the king of another country practiced the 'Law of Daten.' *Daten is a fox.*"[5]

This is the first time *Daten*, that is, *Dagini Ten*, is mentioned. We read about this Deva in several books of different ages which for the sake of clearness and chronological order will be brought together and treated below.

A valuable book of reference is the *Kokon chomonshū*[6], in which we read a number of legends.

A Dainagon, whose house became more and more haunted by foxes, decided to hold a battue. In the night after he had given orders therefor, he saw in a dream an old grey-head with the stature of a tall boy in a green hunting-dress, who squatted under an orange tree in the garden. On being asked his name, the strange individual said, trembling with fear: "I have been living here in your house through two generations, and I have a great number of children and grand-children, whom I have always tried to keep from doing mischief, but they would not listen to me. Now I am very much ashamed to be sharing

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1. 陀天法. Daten is Dagini Ten, see below. The legend is to be found Ch. I, p. 12.
2. 褒姒. See above p. 8; she was originally his favourite concubine.
3. 幽王.
4. Ch. VI, p. 161.
5. Ch. VI, p. 162.
6. 古今著聞集, written in 1254, K.T.K. Vol. XV.

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with them your just anger; please, forgive it for this time and I will protect you forever, and always let you know whenever any good luck may be coming your way." Thereupon the dreamer awoke, got up and opened the door of the verandah. On the same spot where he had seen the mysterious man in his dream, he discovered in the morning light an old hairless fox, which shyly tried to hide itself behind a bamboo bench..... The battue did not take place and from that time the fox always announced to the Dainagon whatever good luck he had to expect.[1]

Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), called Chisoku-in dono, a very ambitious man, ordered a Buddhist priest who was famous for the power of his incantations, to practice the *Dagini* doctrine[2], which has effect at a previously appointed time. The priest said: "This doctrine has never failed. Within seven days it will have success; if not, you must prolong it for another seven days. In case of non-efficiency after that interval you may banish me." After seven days the priest requested Tadazane to send somebody to have a look, and when the man went he saw a fox which came and ate the offerings without fear of the surrounding people. This was so far a good sign, said the priest, but he had to continue the rites for seven days more. He did so, and on the last day of that period Tadazane saw during his siesta a beautiful woman passing by his bed. Her hair was 3 shaku longer than the border of her silken robe. As he seized it, she said: "Why do you do that; it is not good to do so." Her voice, gestures and face were all supernatural, so that he supposed her to be an angel from heaven. But the apparition broke away from him so violently, that her hair was torn from her haid, whereupon Tadazane awoke and saw that he held a fox tail in his hand. As soon as the priest, for whom he had at once sent, heard of this dream, he

1. Ch. XVII, (變化), p. 549.
2. 吃祇尼法, Dagini no ho.

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was delighted and said that he never had had such a splendid effect for his prayers, and that the next day, at the hour of the horse (11-1 P.M.), Tadazane's wish would be fulfilled. The priest was right, for really there came at that hour a very lucky message for him from the Emperor. Afterwards Tadazane became Prime Minister and rewarded the priest with a high post. The fox tail, which he kept in a beautiful box, was subsequently treasured up in a monastery. Tadazane learned the Dagini rites, practiced them himself whenever he wished for anything, and never did so in vain. The fox that ate the offerings and appeared in the dream was apparently Dagini Ten herself. Besides the tail there was also an image for which a small Shintō shrine was built, called "the shrine of the Celestial Divinity of Happiness."[1]

In the Shōhei era (931-937) several hundred foxes came on one occasion to worship the Daibutsu of Tōdaiji. As they were driven away by the people, their spirit (靈) possessed a man and said through him: "We have been living already a long time in this monastery. We worship the venerable image because it is to be afflicted and burnt to-day."[2]

At the time of the Emperor Go Toba (1183-1198) the palace of a Princess in Kyōto was haunted. Shōda Yorinori waited night after night in vain for the spook, till at last, in the seventh night, when he was half asleep, his head was bombarded with potsherds. First he did not see anything, but after a while a black being jumped over him. When he caught it and looked to see what it was, he found that it was nothing but an old, hairless *tanuki*! He pressed the animal down and brought it alive to the princess, who rewarded him with the present of a sword. After that there were no more spooks in the palace.[3]

An old mountain lake was frequented by a great number of water birds, but everybody who hunted them was drowned.

1. Ch. VI, p. 312. The name of the divinity was 福天神, Fukutenjin, simply another name for Dagini Ten. See below.
2. Ch. XX, p. 586.
3. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

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One day a brave man decided to put a stop to this mysterious matter, and went alone in the dark, armed with a bow and arrows and a big sword, his way lying through the lonely mountains. On reaching the lake he sat down and waited a long time under a pine tree which stood on the bank with its trunk hanging out over the water. Suddenly, in the dead of night, the surface of the lake was disturbed and waves began to dash upon the shore. The man bent his bow and waited. There appeared a light in the midst of the lake, the form of which he could not distinguish. It came flying in his direction, but when it reached a point just above the tree and saw the audacious man aiming his bow at it, it flew back over the lake. As this was repeated time and again, the man grew tired, and, throwing his bow on the ground, drew his sword. Then the spook came nearer and he saw in the light a grinning old hag, whom he immediately seized. She tried in vain to pull him into the lake, for he stood like a pillar and gave her a stab with his knife, which made her weaker and weaker, till at last the light disappeared. The hag died and turned out to be an *old tanuki*, which he took home and showed to his astonished brothers, who had refused to go with him for fear of the dangerous spook.[1]

A captain of the Left Gate Guards, called Saitō Sukeyasu, who was hunting in the province of Tamba, once passed the night in an old chapel against the advice of the villagers, who told him that the chapel was inhabited by an anthropophagous monster. He preferred to run the risk of being devoured by the monster to remaining in the snowstorm outside. While he was leaning against a pillar, half asleep, he heard somebody approaching in the garden. Peeping through a chink of the sliding-door he discovered a pitch-black Buddhist priest (法師, hōshi), who was so tall that his head reached to the eaves; but Sukeyasu could not distinguish him clearly. The priest stretch-

1. Ch. XVII, p. 543.

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ed a horrible, hairy, thin arm through the chink of the sliding-door and stroked Sukeyasu's forehead, but when the latter sat upright, he withdrew the arm immediately. After a while the hairy hand appeared and stroked Sukeyasu again, but this time the captain grasped and held it tightly. In the struggle which ensued the sliding-door got pushed out of its groove and fell over on the verandah. The giant was underneath and when pressed down by Sukeyasu, became smaller and smaller and his arm thinner and thinner, and he cried with a very weak voice. Then the captain called his servants and ordered them to strike a light. And lo! the gigantic spook appeared to be only an old tanuki. The next day Sukeyasu was proceeding to show the animal to the villagers in order to convince them that the monster was not so dangerous after all and that it was now dead, but the servants had roasted and eaten the tanuki, and only its head remained. This was shown to the astonished peasants. From that time the chapel was no longer haunted by anthropophagous beings.[1]

In the next legend we read about a rain of pebbles which continually descended in the house of a minister in Kyōto. Nobody knew from whence they came. Although the inmates were not hit by the pebbles, the thing perplexed them greatly, till a samurai from the country gave them the advice to bring tanuki together from all sides and to prepare a meal from them. As he came from the country, they trusted him and followed his advice. Nice mats were spread in the garden, many lamps were lighted, and a great number of tanuki, roasted and cooked in various ways, were eaten, while the sake cup went round after a most jolly fashion. With loud voices the feasters cried out: "You tanuki, you mean fellows, why do you haunt the house of the Minister? Those who do such things are punished in this way (namely, by being killed and eaten)." Thereupon they threw the bones upon the earthen wall surrounding a neighbour-

1. Ch. XVII, p. 550.

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ing monastery and ate and drank again. "Now they will not play such tricks any longer," they said to one another, and really, for a long time there was no further pebble rain in that house. "This is no lie," the author adds, "for it is a strange fact which happened only a little while ago. Doubtless the pebble rain was the work of tanuki."[1]

The *Azuma kagami*[2] speaks of three fox-omina. The first occurred in 1186, when "a fox brought forth a young one at the foot of Eikoku san. This young fox came into the palace of the Shōgun at Kamakura. According to the diviners it was a bad omen. Many strange things had already happened during the previous year."[3] The second omen was in 1213, when it thundered in the night, and at the same time a fox cried several times in the southern garden of the Shōgun's palace.[4] The third time was in 1250. In that year a fox, which cried every night in that same garden, was shot by one of the Shōgun's Body-Guards, and ran away through the eastern Chinese gate; its crying was heard in the direction of Hiki ga yatsu (valley).[5]

In 1188, on the 14th day of the 9th month, a child was born and disappeared. After four years it was found, as a little boy, in an old grave inhabited by a fox. The discovery was due to a dream in which the grave had been indicated. The boy was taken home, but the fox of the grave changed itself into an old man who suddenly appeared and gave a sword and a comb to the boy, secretly whispering into his ear: "You will become the Lord of Japan. To-day you will attain that rank." This child was Shigemochi, and Nagashige, his heir, afterwards carried the sword.[6]

1. Ch. XVII, p. 551.
2. 吾妻鏡 (afterwards written 東鑑), written shortly after 1266.
3. Ch. VI, p. 7.
4. Ch. XXI, p. 45.
5. Ch. XL, p. 30.
6. Ch. VIII, p. 27.

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In the *Zoku kojidan*[1] we read: "In olden times somebody shot a fox in the neighbourhood of a temple in which a fox (yakan, 野干) was considered to be the body of a god (that is, in which a fox-shaped god was worshipped). The Court nobles deliberated whether the fox had been killed or not, but the Dainagon Tsunenobu said that it was no crime to shoot a god, however exalted he might be, when that god ran out of his temple in the shape of a fox."

E. *Fourteenth Century.*

URABE NO KENKŌ[2] tells in the *Tsurezuregusa*[3] the following story:—"There were spooks in the Palace at Kyōto. While some courtiers were playing *go*, somebody lifted the blind and looked at the game. It was a fox sitting like a man, but it ran away when the astonished players cried out: 'A fox!' It was apparently a fox that had tried to haunt them, but, being not yet well trained to the business, had not succeeded."

In the *Masu kagami*[4] we read the following: In 1283 the priests of Hiyoshi, on Hieizan, came to the capital and placed the mikoshi of the god in the Palace, as a sign of their anger, because the Emperor had declined some request they had made. Then they returned to their mountain home, leaving the mikoshi behind. For fear of the god the Emperor (Go Uda) went out from the Palace and established himself in a private house. But after a while he left there and returned to the Palace for the following reason. In that private house there was a chapel of Waka-miya of Iwashimizu, where a large number of foxes lived. Somebody had offended these animals in such a way as to cause their revenge to fall upon the house. Their anger revealed itself in a great variety of strange incidents, and the

1. 續古事談, written at the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. Ch. II (臣節), *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 487, Vol. XVII, p. 661.
2. 卜部兼好.
3. Written 1334-39; nr 230.
4. 增鏡, written 1340-1350. Ch. XII, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p. 1139.

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Emperor thought it better to return to the Palace. Apparently he was more afraid of the foxes than of Hiyoshi, the mighty god of Hieizan.

In the *Taiheiki*[1] we find the legend about Kakuban (the priest of Kōya-san into whose heart the Tengu had stolen and who was found by the monks of Kōya seated after the fashion of the image of Fudō Myōō), which I have given in detail in my treatise on the Tengu.[2] The monks thought that Kakuban had transformed himself by means of some magic art *which old tanuki or old foxes possess.*"

In Ch. XXII[3] an aged nun seated in a sedan-chair is believed to be an old tanuki or fox, which must be forced to show its original shape by making smoke enter its nose, or by being shot.

F. *Fifteenth Century.*

In the *Yasutomiki*[4] we read for the first time about people who had foxes in their service for magical purposes. This kind of sorcery was called "kitsune-tsukai, 狐仕, the employment of foxes." Under date of the 10th day of the ninth month of 1420 YASUTOMI writes the following: "This morning Takama, the physician of Muromachi dono (the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshimochi), was thrown into prison along with his son and younger brother. Since recently the rumour has spread that they have foxes in their service (have used them, 仕, tsukau), yesterday the Consort of the Shōgun ordered exorcists to hold incantations (kaji), whereupon two foxes fled from her rooms. The foxes were caught and killed, and, while it was thus apparent that Takama had foxes in his service, he was summoned this morning (to the palace). This noon Sadamune

1. 太平記, written about 1382. Vol. III, Ch. XVIII, p. 2.
2. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, pp. 62 seq.
3. Vol. III, p. 6-a.
4. 康富記, a diary of NAKAHARA YASUTOMI, 中原康富, who lived 1398-1457.

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Ason, the Chief-Diviner[1], was also summoned, because he too was said to use foxes. How terrible, terrible are the deeds of the people in these times, in which the end of the world is drawing near!".....Same year, tenth month, 9th day: "According to what I heard afterwards the prisoner Takama was yesterday banished to Sanuki province, and Toshitsune Ason would have undergone the same punishment if he had not beforehand become a monk of the monastery at Akino. These all were people who used foxes."

A famous and interesting legend is to be found in the *Kagakushū*[2], sub voce "*Dog hunting*." We read—"In olden times there was in India a king called Hansoku (班足) whose consort surpassed all others in wickedness. She persuaded the king to order the decapitation of a thousand men. Afterwards reborn in China as the consort of the Emperor Yiu (幽王), of Cheu, called Pao-Sz' (褒姒), she deceived the people and ruined the empire (781 B.C.) After her death she was reborn in Japan as *Tamamo no mae* (玉藻前) in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155). Then she killed an immense number of people. Later she changed into a *white fox* and brought harm upon very many more. The people of the time proposed to hunt the fox, but first to learn the art of hunting on horseback by hunting dogs. The white fox, aware of this purpose transformed itself into a stone. As birds and quadrupeds which touch this deadly stone die immediately, it is called the *sesshō-seki* (殺生石), or 'life-killing stone'; it is now on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province. This was the origin of dog hunting."

The same thing we find mentioned in the *Nikkenroku*[3], where we read the following:—"Second year of the Kyō-toku

1. Onyō no kami, 陰陽頭.

2. 下學集, written in 1444 by the priest SHAKU NO HATOTSU, 釋破衲, Ch. 下.

3. 日件錄, the diary of the Buddhist priest GWA-UN, 臥雲, written anno 1453 sqq.; *Zoku Shiseki shūran*, Vol. II, p. 16.

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era (1453), second month, 25th day. The abbot of Rinkō-in, called Shuzan, paid me a visit, and during the conversation we spoke about dog shooting. He said: 'The Emperor Toba (1107-1123) had a pretty concubine, of whose origin nobody knew. She was called Tamamo no mae and was very much beloved by the Emperor, with whom she spoke about Indian and Chinese matters, being thoroughly acquainted therewith. But when the Emperor fell ill and consulted a diviner, the latter declared that the illness was caused by the woman, and when, in consequence, prayers were recited with a view to curing the patient, the concubine turned into a fox and ran away. This fox, which lived on the Nasu moor in Shimozuke province, was pursued, but in vain, because it was so extraordinarily spry. Therefore the Emperor ordered the samurai to shoot dogs on horseback in order to learn thereby how to shoot foxes. Afterwards Kazusa-no-sŭke killed the fox, and in its tail were two needles, which he gave to (his master) Yoritomo (Minamoto no Yoritomo, the Shōgun of Kamakura, 1147-1199). After receiving these needles the latter became finally the ruler of the world. This (namely the Emperor Toba's order to the samurai) is the reason why nowadays dogs are hunted. The fox was a metamorphosis of Pao-Sz' (the abandoned concubine of King Yiu, who caused the fall of the Western Cheu dynasty in 781 B.C.).'"

In ŌWADA TATEKI'S[1] *Yōkyoku tsūkai*[2] we find the legend of Tamamo no mae dramatised as follows: A Buddhist priest, named Gennō, is warned by a village woman that he is quite near to the dangerous "life-killing stone." The woman and the chorus tell him the legend of Tamamo no mae, the beautiful and learned concubine of the Emperor Toba, who was well acquainted with Sutras and Vinayas, Confucius' doctrine, Chinese and Japanese arts, poetry and music, and who

1. 大和田建樹.

2. 謡曲通解, "Explanation of Songs"; these songs date from the Ashikaga period (1336-1573).

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was called "Pearl" (Tama) on account of the clearness of her mind. One evening the Emperor had assembled all the talented men among the courtiers, and they played for him on the flute and the lute. It was a very melancholy evening at the end of autumn. The moon had not yet risen, a drizzling rain was falling and the wind was blowing. All of a sudden the lights went out, and in the darkness Tamamo no mae's body shone like a brilliant sun, enlightening the whole palace. At the same time the Emperor became ill. The Court magician, Abe no Yasunari, declared that it was all the work of the concubine, who thereupon flew away to the Nasu moor and changed into a white fox.

In the second act the village woman appears to be the spirit of Tamamo no mae herself. She promises the priest, at his request, to show her fox shape that night, and then disappears into the stone. In the next scene the stone splits of itself, and inside of it a light becomes visible, in the midst of which the shape of a fox is to be seen. The fox tells him that she is the divinity of the grave of the Crown prince Hansoku (班足), in India, who appeared in China as Pao-Sz', the consort of King Yiu, and in Japan as Tamamo no mae. Abe no Yasunari had, after the accident in the Palace, begun an offering and forced her, the concubine, to carry the five-coloured gohei. This and his ardent prayers caused her to suffer so much, that she threw away the gohei and flew through the air to the Nasu moor, where she hid herself. Then an Imperial message was sent to Miura-no-sŭke Yoshiaki and Kazusa-no-sŭke Hirotsune, ordering them to kill this fox. First they shot dogs for a hundred days in order to get into training, and then they surrounded the moor and killed the fox. Its angry spirit, however, remained there and became the "Life-killing stone," which was fatal to men for many years thereafter. The priest exorcises the spirit by means of incantations, and it disappears, on promising to do no further evil.

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Professor CHAMBERLAIN, who also gives an account of this drama[1], remarks: "The stone itself no longer exists; but the poisonous exhalations which still issue from the ground on which it stood are destructive to insect and bird."

The same legend is to be found in the Zen priest Gennō's[2] biography, in KAWAI TSUNEHISA'S[3] book entitled *Shimpen Kamakura shi*[4], where also the history of the monastery Kaizōji[5], at Kamakura, founded by the same priest, is given. This work is quoted by KEIZAN KOJI[6] in his *Enkyo zatsuwa*[7]. We read there that spooks had already appeared long before the banquet occurred, and that it was in the time of the Emperor Konoe (1141-1155) (instead of Toba[8]). During the banquet, in the depth of night, the Palace shook violently and the lamps went out. It was Yoshiaki who afterwards killed the fox, the spirit of which more than 100 years later became the notorious stone. Gennō was ordered by the Emperor Go Fukakusa (1246-1259) to go to the moor and put a stop to the strange matter. "When the priest came to the stone, he saw a heap of bones and skulls surrounding it. He read aloud the "Hasō daki en"[9], a Zen text, and said: 'Originally you were a stone. Whence came the spirit and whither does it intend to go?' Than he uttered a gathā (Buddhist stanza) and struck the stone with his staff, breaking it at once. That night a woman of majestic beauty appeared and thanked him, saying: 'I have been reborn in Heaven by virtue of your pure exhortation'. And then she vanished. From that time Gennō's fame became great in the capital and in all the country. The Shōgun of Kamakura, Hōjō Tokiyori (1226-1263), who heard about

1. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 8th ed. (1907), p. 216.
2. 源翁.
3. 河井恒久.
4. 新篇鎌倉志.
5. 海蔵寺.
6. 雨山居士.
7. 禅居雑話, written in 1837; *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. V, p. 320.
8. Comp. the *Kagakushū*, above p. 51.
9. 破竈堕懺悔.

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Gennō's miraculous power, gave him a village as a reward of its exercise. This happened in the Kenchō era (1249-1255)."

The *Ainōshō*[1], an encyclopedia dating from 1446, treats of the question why a fox is called *Myōbu no o mae*[2]. "In China," it says, "the Court ladies are called '*myōbu*' (命婦) ..... As there are female divinities in the temples in which foxes are worshipped, perhaps these goddesses were called 'myōbu' after the palace ladies. Or have they (the fox-goddesses) gotten this name because the foxes were originally the messengers of a god that was so called (Myōbu)? I shall ask other people about this."

With reference to this name "myōbu," we find some information in the *Inari jinjaki hiketsu*[3]. "In this temple (that is, the temple of Inari at Kyōto)," it says, "a fox is called '*myōbu*' for the following reason.—At the time of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) a Court lady (myōbu), a very devout believer in Inari, made a vow to spend seven days and nights in the temple. But on the third day she was requested by the priest to leave, as she had become unclean through menstruation. But she refused to do so and said: 'Inari is a divinity who is the same for both clean and unclean persons; so I can stay here', and she composed a verse in this sense. That night Inari appeared to her in a dream and recited a verse indicating that the goddess disliked the menstruation. Then the woman left the temple and gave the name of 'Myōbu' to the fox Akomachi (one of the three foxes worshipped on Mount Inari), according to the tradition of the temple.....Another name for foxes is '*Tōme no o mae*'; *tōme* means 'old woman'".

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1. 塵袋抄, Ch. I, nr 57, p. 10; written by the Buddhist priest Gyōgo, 行譽.

2. 命婦ノ御前.

3. 稻荷神社記秘訣, written by Hagura Kōman, 羽倉廣滿, who was a priest of the Inari temple at Kyōto in the Kyōhō era (1716-1735). Quoted in the *Reijū zakki*, Vol. II, p. 513, 515.

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In the *Reijū zakki*[1] we read the following concerning the name "*tōme*": "As to the word '*tōme*' for *fox*, this has the following origin. On the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) there was in olden times a temple in which three foxes were worshipped as gods; the name of that temple was *Tō-u-me sha* (登宇女社), or *Myōbu sha* (命婦社). This may be the reason why in later times everybody called a fox '*tōme*' (專) .....This name is found already in the *Genji monogatari* (1004), *Uji shūi monogatari* (1213-18), *Hyakurenshō* (after 1259) and so on."

The *Inari jinjakō*[2] thus refers to the names *myōbu* and *tōme*. "Nowadays the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple (in Kyōto) is called the 'Upper Temple' (Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly the name of this temple was *Tōme no sha* or *Myōbu no sha*, and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As these three foxes lived a long, long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple, where they did strange things, the people came finally to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and to worship them together in one temple."

Another word for fox is *yakan* (野干). In the *Wakun no shiori*[3] we read sub voce "Fox": "The fox is also called 'yakan'. As to the Buddhist yakan (射干), that is different from the fox. We find in the dictionaries: '豻 (kan), which is the same as field-dog (野犬, ya-ken); it resembles a fox but is smaller; it comes from Manchuria (胡地).'"

In the old legend which we found in the *Ryō-i-ki*[4] the word *yakan* is said to be the old word for *kitsune*, which is

1. 靈獸雜記, written by TSUTANOYA SHUJIN, 蔦屋主人, "the Master of the Ivy House", probably in the beginning of the 19th century, the principal work on Japanese fox-lore.

2. 稻荷神社考, written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NO NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏陰, who called himself after his ancestor SUGAWARA; his own name was MAEDA NATSUKAGE, 前田夏陰. Ch. II, p. 25-a, under the heading "*Myōbu-sha*, also called *Tōme Miketsu kami*, 專女三狐神."

3. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776.

4. See above p. 20.

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explained by popular tradition to be "come always." We did not find "yakan" in other works of the eighth century, nor in those of the ninth and tenth centuries. Of all the fox stories of the *Konjaku monogatari* in one only is the word "yakan" used, side by side with the word "kitsune", as having the same meaning. In one of the tales of the *Mizu kagami* (12th century) it stands alone, while the only work of the 13th century which uses the word is the *Zoku kojidan*; but in the same tale the fox is also called "kitsune" and apparently "yakan" is only used as belonging to the story in its oldest form. After that time it does not occur. The *Wamyōshō*[1], quoted by KAIBARA YOSHIFURU[2] in his *Wajiga*[3], refers to a Chinese work entitled "*K'ao shing ts'ieh yun*[4], which says: "The fox is an animal called *yakan* (野干). In China a fox is called yakan by mistake. Some say that the yakan is not the same as the fox. The yakan is small and has a big tail and can climb trees; the fox is big and cannot do this." And another Chinese book, the *Tsu t'ing shi yuen*[5] says: "Yakan is in Sanskrit 'shikkara' (悉迦羅); it is also called 夜干, or 射干 (yakan); its bark is like that of a wolf."

Probably legends about this Indian animal came to China in Buddhist form and were there transferred to the fox. The Chinese work "*Shih i*"[6] quoted by HIRANO HITSUDAI[7] in his *Honchō shokkan*[8] explains the yakan (射干) as follows: "In Buddhistic sutras both yakan and 貂 (ten, sable, marter, mustela melampus) are bad animals and resemble blue-

1. 和名鈔, (the full title is *Wamyō ruijū shō*, 和名類聚鈔), written by MINAMOTO NO SHITAGAU, 源順, who lived 911-983.

2. 貝原好古.

3. 倭爾雅, a dictionary written in 1688; Ch. VI, Section Animals, s.v. Fox.

4. 考聲切韻.

5. 祖庭事苑.

6. 拾遺, written by CH'EN TS'ANG-K'I of the T'ang dynasty.

7. 平野必大.

8. 本朝食鑑, written in 1697.

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yellow dogs. They devour men and can climb trees." Hirano remarks: "Perhaps the fox is called 'yakan' in Japan in imitation of the bad animal of the Buddhist sutras. There is an old saying that 'a yakan resembles a dog.' This is also borrowed from the Buddhist sutras. In general the thing called 'yakan' (野干) is the worst and most haunting and harm-doing of all foxes."

As to the name "*tōka*," we find the following explanation in the *Butsurui shōkō*.[1] "In Kwantō the fox is called '*kitsune*' in the day-time, and '*tōka*' at night. In Hitachi province a white fox is called *tōka*." The reason (for this name) must be that the people say the fox is the sacred messenger of *Inari*, the two characters of whose name, 稻荷, are pronounced *tō-ka* (in kan-on)." And the *Reijū zakki*[2] quotes a passage of the above mentioned *Inarijinja ki hiketsu*, which runs thus: "Inari is called 'Tōka, 稻荷' which name is to be written 豐宇賀, Toyo-u-ga, another name of *Uga no mitama* (倉稻魂).[3] 'Toyo-uga' means 'abundant food.'"

After this digression, which we have made in order to bring together all references to the names of the fox, we will return to our starting-point, the *Ainōshō*. We find in this old encyclopedia still another passage on foxes, under the heading: "Ignes fatui, called *Fox-fire* (kitsune-bi)."[4] Here we find the following explanation. "In the old Chinese classic entitled *Li ki*[5] we read that rotten plants become fire-flies. It is also said that fire-flies come forth from horse blood. Fox-fire (kitsune-bi, 狐火) is also written 燐火, kutsune-bi (rin-kwa, the meaning of the characters is *ignis fatuus*). As this ignis fatuus is said to come forth from horse blood, the people think fox-fire is made by means of burning horse bones."

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1. 物類稱呼.
2. Vol. II, p. 515.
3. The "Spirit of the Rice" worshipped on Mount Inari. See below.
4. 狐火云燐火.
5. 禮記, Ch. 月令.

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G. *Sixteenth Century.*

Among the *Otogi zōshi*[1] there is one legend, entitled "Kobatana-gitsune," which is merely a new form of the old story of the fox which took the shape of a woman and lived with a man as his wife, till a dog made her flee away home to her parents. In this version of the tale she afterwards changes herself into a nun and leads a pious life, although always longing after her former husband.

In the *Shimpen otogi zōshi*[2] we find besides the above[3] mentioned story two short passages on foxes, both in the *Mottomo no sōshi*,[4] which dates from about 1620. Here we read: "As to the transformations of foxes, these are brought to light by smoking their noses," and a verse on summer runs as follows: "Of Inari's festival fox-fires are the torches."

In the *Hōjō godaiki*, "History of five generations of the Hōjō family"[5], we read: "An old samurai who had been in the service of Hōjō Ujiyasu (1515-1570) told the following story: 'Although Ujiyasu was a warrior, he was very fond of poetry. One summer evening he was walking about when a fox passed crying before him. Thereupon one of his attendants remarked: "In olden times, when Yoritomo was hunting on the Mihara plain in Shinano province, it began to rain and thunder. Then Kajiwara Kagesue recited a verse, and the thunder, affected by the verse, stopped at once. Now, as it is a very bad omen for a fox to appear in summer time, it would be

1. 御伽草子, legends dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, compiled and published in two editions (1891 and 1901) by IMAIZUMI TEISŪKE, 今泉定介. Comp. FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur*, pp. 357 sqq.

2. 新綴御伽草子, 20 tales of about the same time, compiled and published by HAGINO YOSHIYUKI, 荻野由之, in 1901.

3. Pg. 23.

4. 尤之雙紙; Vol. II, legend nr 20, p. 59, nrs 29 and 39.

5. 北條五代記, written by MIURA JŌSHIN, 三浦浄心, a Buddhist priest who lived 1536-1615.

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well to drive the bad omen away by making some verses." But nobody made any. Then Ujiyasu himself produced a nice and very subtle poem, the hidden sense of which was that a fox ought not to appear in summer. And lo! at daybreak the fox lay dead on the spot where it had cried. The people thought this strange and wondered at the miraculous power of the poem.'"

H. *Seventeenth Century.*

The *Ō-u ei-kei gunki*[1] contains the following legend:— According to tradition Onodera Shigemochi, the forefather of Yoshimichi, Lord of Dewa, who was living at Koga in the province of Shimōsa, once when a boy saved a young fox from maltreatment at the hands of other boys. The same night, when he was looking at the moon, an old man came and thanked him on his knees for having saved his child, the little fox. He said that he was a white fox (byakko), who had been already a long time in the service of Inari Daimyōjin. At the same time he gave Shigemochi a small packet of medicine, with the words: "This is a very powerful medicine, made by the goddess (Inari); by means of this you will this year obtain territory from the hand of the Emperor. You must ask him for a dominion in the East, namely Yamakita, in Dewa province. Your children and grandchildren will always possess that territory and have great prosperity. When you go thither, I will accompany you." Thereupon the old man suddenly vanished, leaving the astonished Shigemochi with the medicine in his hand. The next day the Emperor became severely ill, and nobody could cure him. In and outside the capital a proclamation was made, promising to give to him who could cure the Emperor

1. 奥羽永慶軍記, "A History of the war between Ūshū and Ushū (Mutsu and Dewa provinces) from the Eiroku era (1558-1569) till the Keichō era 1596-1614)" (hence the words "Ō-u ei-kei"), written by TOBE MASANAO, 戸部正直, a samurai of the Akita clan, who probably lived in the first half of the seventeenth century. *Shiseki zatsuroku*, Vol. XV, Ch. 36.

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whatever reward he might wish for. Then Shigemochi came with his medicine, and in one day had such great success, that the Emperor offered him a dominion. Following the advice of the fox he chose Yamashita, in Dewa province, and "from that time up till now, during four hundred years, his descendants possess it and live there in full prosperity."

In the *Taionki*[1] we read: "The Emperor has three 'sacred utensils' (shinki, 神器). His retainers have three treasures (sambō, 三寶), namely, first, the portrait of the Daishokukwan (that is, KAMATARI, 鎌足, the first of the FUJIWARA, who lived 614-669 and obtained the title of daishokukwan shortly before his death); secondly, the *Hokkekyō* (Saddharma pundarika sūtra), written with golden ink by the abbot EIRYŌ, 惠亮, and thirdly, the '*Sword of the Little Fox.*'[2] The Kwanjōshō ('Prime Minister'), namely SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE (845-903), who was transformed after death into a great peal of thunder (because he died in anger on account of an unjust exile), bore a grudge against the Court and killed Fujiwara no Tokihira (871-909) who had caused his exile. Night and day it blew and rained continuously; it was terrible, just as if an army of gods tore the Palace asunder. The Emperor (Daigo, 897-930) was very much afraid and asked TEISHIN KŌ (貞信公, Fujiwara no Tadahira): 'Which god has the palace watch to-day?' Thereupon Teishinkō saw a *white fox* coming forth from the hilt of his sword, and he answered: 'Your Majesty can be at ease; for to-day it is *Inari's* great divinity that is guarding the Palace.' Immediately after these words the thunder and rain stopped and the sky became clear. This sword is called 'The sword of the Little fox.'"

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1. 戴恩記, written by MATSUNAGA TEITOKU, 松永貞德, who lived 1570-1653; also called *Kurin zatsuwa shū*, 歌林雜話集, "Collection of various poems." Vol. I, p. 21.

2. Kogitsune no tachi, 小狐ノ太刀.

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The *Shinchomonshū*[1] contains several fox and tanuki legends. A man was sitting before the Inari temple at Kyōto, when an old fox came out of the temple and jumped to and fro over the torii. As the man looked at it in great astonishment, the fox said to him: "You must jump also." "That is impossible for me," he answered, but the fox replied: "If that is the case, I will teach you," and taking off the man's haori, the animal threw a long rope over the torii and pulled it to and fro. The man felt as if he also jumped across and became quite perplexed. On having returned to his village he knocked at the door of his house, but his wife and children would not open to him and exclaimed: "Good Heavens, it is an old fox; don't let him in." In vain he assured them that he was their husband and father, and then with tears came to the sad conclusion that he had fallen alive upon the "animal-road" (one of the six conditions of sentient existence in Buddhism, the so-called "six paths," 六道, or gāti). Thereupon he went away and lived thenceforth by the seashore, eating only seaweed and fish, while the villagers pitied him greatly and erected a small Inari shrine in his honour.[2]

At the time that the Dainagon of Owari was hawking in Tsushima, he wished to have prepared the medicine called U-sai-en (烏犀圓, which is made up of the livers of several animals), and ordered one of his retainers to have some one take out the "living liver" of a fox. The samurai gave the order to a bird catcher who caught a fox, but as the man desired to go home, he accepted the offer of one of the samurai's kitchen servants and gave him the animal with the permission to eat the flesh after removing the liver. But as the kitchen servant was doing it, his wife, who was in Kiyosu (Owari province), was suddenly possessed by a being which spoke through her, saying: "There was no reason why he should kill me, as he is no official (that

1. 新著聞集, written about 1700. Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, *Kinsei kidan zenshū*, 近世奇談全集.

2. Ch. X, p. 141.

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is, it was not his duty to kill me); therefore I will take vengeance. He has not only killed me, but he has eaten my flesh, so that he is my deadly enemy; and as I cannot get him in my power, I will kill his wife, after having made her mad." When this matter reached the ears of the Lord of Owari, he said: "Because a fox is a supernatural being, it will listen to reasonable words," and he sent a messenger to the house of the unhappy woman telling him to address the fox as follows: "Why do you torment this woman? It was according to my order that you were killed. Although I might have killed you when hunting foxes for my amusement, this time I wanted to have medicine prepared; is it not delightful to you to have lost your life for the sake of mankind?" When the woman heard these words, she shed tears and said (that is, the fox spoke through her): "It is of advantage to us animals to listen to the Lord's commands," and then all of a sudden the spirit (mono no ke) went out of the woman.[1]

In the same chapter[2] we find a tale about a fox which had eaten a turtle (suppon, a tortoise) of a Buddhist temple just at the time that the Lord of Iga visited that sanctuary. When the latter heard of it, he ordered a fox-hunt to be conducted early the next morning. That night he heard some noises in front of his room, and when he opened the door and looked out, saw a fox, bound with creeping vines, the ends of which two other foxes held in their mouths. Upon the Lord's question as to what they intended to do with the culprit, they attacked the animal and killed it at once. There is a similar story found in the same chapter.[3] A fox devoured a peacock, which a Minister of Education had lent to Andō, Lord of Tsushima. The latter was so furious about the matter, that he ordered his servants to demolish the Inari shrine in his compound. That night a fox appeared to him in a dream (it was the Inari of the

1. Ch. XVI, p. 226.
2. Ch. XVI, p. 229.
3. Ch. XVI, p. 234.

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shrine), and said it was another fox that devoured the peacock and the proof would be forthcoming within three days. Three days afterwards the Lord dreamed again, when the fox came a second time and said: "I have made the examination and punished the culprit." When the astonished Lord went out on the verandah, he saw a big old fox lying dead on the floor. Immediately he had a new Inari shrine built.

An unsuccessful metamorphosis of a fox is the subject of another tale. A man who had left his house at sunset in order to go to a neighbouring town, came back very soon, accompanied by a servant, and pretended to his wife that he had already settled his business. As he was very tired, he went to bed at once, but an old woman, who was in the house, told her mistress that she had seen that this person was blind in his *left* eye, while her master was blind in the *right* one. In order to look into the matter closely they called the sleeping man, under pretext that the old woman felt indisposed and wanted medicine. After some grumbling he got up and now both women could clearly see that he was blind in the wrong eye. When he got to sleep again, they stabbed him to death, and under the strokes he cried like a fox, "kon-kon, kwai-kwai." Then the servant of the house beat to death his companion who was also a fox. Apparently the one who had taken the shape of the master was not yet well enough trained to successfully transform himself.[1]

In 1672 a man who had caught a fox, but would not kill it because the next day was the anniversary of his father's death, was requested by a friend, called Shōsaburō, to give him the animal. When he did so, Shōsaburō at once killed it, crushing in its ears and mouth by blows. Just at that time the cruel man's wife gave birth to a girl baby with split ears and a distorted mouth. This deformity was the curse of the fox.[2]

In the monastery of Kōhōji in Shimōsa province a wooden image of Nichiren recited sutras every night, and from all

1. Ch. XVII, p. 236.
2. Ch. XIV, p. 210.

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sides of the neighbourhood men and women flocked together to witness the miracle. But the abbot of the monastery, who could not understand the matter, one night stopped the people, who came to listen as usual, and alone addressed the image, asking it questions about the mysteries of the Law, and threatening to cut it to pieces and throw it away, if it did not answer immediately. When there came no reply, the reverend man forthwith took a broad axe and pulled the image down. And lo! from behind it an *old tanuki* jumped out and fled away. The animal was pursued and beaten to death.[1]

In the *Edo sōga no ko*[2] we read the following particulars about the Inari temple of Ōji (王子) in the neighbourhood of Ueno, the well-known district of Yedo: "Every year, on New Year's eve the foxes of the eight provinces of Kwantō gather in the night at this temple and light the fox-fire (kitsune-bi). People think that if this fire burns well, there will be a good crop." And the poet IKENISHI GONSUI[3] says in his *Edo Benkei*[4]:

"The eve of the year, when the torches burn
And the Kwantō foxes come."

Another hokku (that is, haikai, a verse of seventeen syllables) of TOMOJI[5] in the *Toshidoshi no kwai*[6] runs as follows:

"Mekari being too far, I'll go
To look at the foxes of Ōji."

Mekari (和布刈) is a god enshrined at Ise, where he is worshipped at midnight on New Year's eve. RYŪTEI TANEHIKO[7], the famous novelist, who quotes these passages, remarks:

1. Ch. VIII, p. 111.
2. 江戸惣鹿子, written in 1689, Ch. III.
3. 池西言水.
4. 江戸辯慶, written in 1680.
5. 友而.
6. 年年ノ辻.
7. 柳亭種彦, who lived in Yedo 1782-1842. He quotes these passages in his *Ryūteiki*, 柳亭記, *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. VI, p. 118.

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"Although it is clear from TOMOJI's verse that this matter existed already in the Empō era (1673-1680), we do not know when it began. In olden times foxes may actually have come together, but nowadays it is only an imitation of fox-fire with lighted torches."

It may be mentioned that KONDŌ GIKYŪ[1], who probably lived in the 18th century, refers in his *Edoshi*[2] to the work "*Edo sunago*"[3], where we read the following:—"The Inari temple at Ōji is, according to tradition, the head of all the Inari temples in Kwantō. Every year the people predict luck or calamity from the fox-fire which appears on the last night of the year." And further on: "Tradition says that there is very much fox-fire on New Year's eve at the so-called Shōzoku-enoki (裝束榎, 'the Enoki tree of the Ceremonial Dress', which stands in the field before the Inari temple at Ōji). It is said that the foxes (which come from all sides of Kwantō to this place) change their garments at the foot of this tree (in order to go up to the temple in full ceremonial dress)."

A great number of writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries speak in general terms about foxes, tanuki and mujina, Dagini Ten and Inari, kitsune-tsukai and kuda-mochi. For the sake of clearness I shall put them all together in chronological order, but first give the different legends to be found in books of the same two centuries.

I. *Eighteenth Century.*

In the *Honchō koji incnshū*[4] we read the following stories:—In the Keichō era (1596-1614) there was at Mihara, in Bingo province, a man who caught foxes by means of traps. On being converted by an eminent Buddhist priest, he became a

1. 近藤義休.
2. 江戸志, Ch. IV.
3. 江戸砂子, written in 1732 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾凉.
4. 本朝故事因緣集, probably written in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

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priest himself and prayed for a blessed future life. Then the angry ghosts of the foxes which he had killed during many years, together with those which he had not yet killed, an innumerable number, appeared before his eyes and did all kinds of bad things, nay were even about to kill his whole family. The frightened hunter said: "I shall destroy you by means of prayers (nembutsu), uttered with a heart full of Bodhi (bodaishin, Buddhistic intelligence, a devotional disposition of the mind)", and he took his rosary and recited the myōgō (litt. "name", that is "Namu Amida Butsu"), praying incessantly. But the foxes laughed and said: "We do not care at all for your Buddha, your rosary and your prayers. We will kill your whole family." And some of the family did actually fall ill, being possessed by the foxes, and they repeated what the latter had said. Then the hunter stopped praying, threw away his rosary, and returned to his old profession, whereupon the foxes ceased to haunt him any longer.[1]

In the beginning of the same era a samurai of the house of Asano (Daimyō of Wakayama in Kii province) was requested by a fox in the shape of a man to forbid one of his retainers to catch and kill foxes. He promised to do so, and when he had fulfilled the promise, the fox appeared again in human shape and offered him a reward. The samurai asked him to fill his godown with gold and silver, but the fox said: "I am a messenger of Inari Daimyōjin, who gave me the rank of *Kiko myōjin* (貴狐明神, "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox"). Riches make a man unhappy; the proper thing for you, a samurai, is landed property. This I will give you." After these words the fox disappeared, and the samurai received land which produced 2500 koku of rice.[2]

A fox took the shape of the consort of the Lord of Shikoku, and the latter found to his unbounded astonishment two women sitting in his house, who were exactly alike and

1. Ch. III, nr 78, p. 16-a.
2. Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a.

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who both pretended to be his real wife. A physician believed that it was the so-called "soul-separating"[1] illness, which causes one woman to become two. He uttered a Buddhist stanza (gatha, 喝), and striking on the floor with his staff proceeded to recite prayers, but all in vain. Then the husband seized the women and shut them up. As he saw that one of them ate quite different food from the ordinary, he examined that one by torture, whereupon she became a fox. He then decided to kill the animal, but a crowd of 4 or 5000 people, Buddhist priests and laymen, men and women, came before the gate and answered the Lord's question, as to who they were, as follows: "We are the foxes of the whole of Shikoku, who come to you with a request. The fox who has done you a wrong is a descendant of Kiko myōjin, the 'Venerable Fox-god'; his name is Osagitsune, he is a messenger of Inari, and the King of the Foxes of Japan. If you do him harm, there will come great calamity upon the country. He is our teacher of haunting, and if he dies we cannot haunt any longer. Please spare his life!" The Lord promised that if they all would leave Shikoku by ship, he would send the prisoner after them. Thereupon they gave him a written oath, that they never would return to Shikoku as long as this document existed. They went away and since that time there have been no foxes in Shikoku. The document was, in the author's time, still in the hands of the same family.[2]

The *Sakai kagami*[3] contains the following legend:—"In the Eiroku era (1381-1383) there was a shrine called Kō-un-an[4], in the compound of the Buddhist temple Shōrinji[5] in the neighbourhood of Tsurigitsune-dera.[6] The priest of that shrine,

1. 離魂, ri-kon.
2. Ch. III, nr 87, p. 3-b.
3. 堺鑑, written by KINUGASA ICHIJUN, 衣笠一淳, who lived 1679-1746. Ch. II, 古跡.
4. 耕雲菴.
5. 小林寺.
6. 釣狐寺, "Fox-catching monastery."

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called Hakuzō, was a devout worshipper of Inari, the protectress of the temple, and brought her offerings every day. One day there was a three-legged wild fox in the wood, which was apparently a sign that the goddess (Inari) had heard his prayers. The priest took the animal home in his arms and attended it carefully. It was a supernatural fox (靈狐, reiko), which always immediately knew the thoughts of the priest. When robbers came, the fox drove them away. Up till now the descendants of this animal, all three-legged foxes, live in that monastery, for Inari's divine power is great. The comedy called 'Tsurigitsune' (釣狐) finds its origin in that monastery. A fox, having changed itself into an old man, looked at the performance of the comedy and afterwards taught the writer the *good* magic arts of foxes (in opposition to their bad tricks)."

As to *comedies* about foxes, we find one in the *Kyōgenki*[1], entitled "*Kitsune*"[2]. A fox, in the shape of a Buddhist monk, an uncle of a hunter, comes to the latter's house in the mountains and warns him that it is very bad to catch and kill foxes. The hunter promises to throw his trap into the river and never to catch foxes again, but he deceives the would-be uncle and puts the trap near by instead of throwing it away. At last the fox falls into the trap himself, on having resumed his vulpine shape. In the course of the conversation between uncle and nephew the fox tells the famous legend of Tamamo no mae[3] in order to impress upon the hunter's mind what a strong feeling of revenge foxes have.

We find a *tanuki* story in the *Kwaidan toshiotoko*[4]. In olden times there lived in Yedo a physician, called Kugano Kendō. One day he was called to a house in Banchō, a district of Yedo,

1. 狂言記, which dates from the Muromachi period (1333-1601).

2. *Kyōgen zenshū*, 狂言全集, "Complete collection of comedies", edited by the Hakubunkwan, Vol. I, p. 71, Ch. II, nr 2.

3. See above p. 51 seqq.

4. 怪談登志男, written in 1749 by ZANSETSUSHA SOKYU, 斬雪舍素及. Ch. II, p. 6.

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but when he got there—it was already growing dark—the master of the house was not at home and he was requested to wait a little. In the saloon he was served by a little boy-servant, who looked very nice but ran away when the doctor took his hand and caressed him. On looking back he observed that the boy's face became suddenly as much as 3 shaku long, and that he had only one eye in the midst of his forehead, a small nose and a big mouth. Looking at Kendō he disappeared. The latter, who was a very courageous man, was astonished but did not go away. Shortly afterwards the master of the house came home. When the doctor told him in an undertone what had happened, he burst out laughing and said: "Oh, that was that boy again, he always frightens strangers in that way. Did n't he put on a face like this?" and the man imitated exactly the horrible face the boy had shown. This was too much for the doctor; he ran to the front door and called for his followers. But they had all gone home, except the sandal (zōri)-carrier. It was pitch-dark, and Kendō was quite frightened, but the zōri-man said there was a lantern. And lo! at once it became so light that even the smallest things could be seen, and in the blinding light the face of the zōri-carrier was three shaku long, with one eye in the forehead, a small nose and an enormous mouth, just as in the case of the two other spooks. At the sight the doctor fell down with a cry and became unconscious. In the meantime some of the inmates of the physician's house, who did not understand why he did not come home, went with the followers to the house in Banchō to seek their master. But they found, not the nice house which they had seen there that very evening, but instead an old, dirty, desolate and tumble-down shack, and the people of the neighbourhood told them that it was known already for a long time to be haunted, was always desolate and only inhabited by *foxes and tanuki*. Nobody dared even to pass by it. At last the doctor was found lying on his face in a near-by bamboo grove. They took him home, but it was two days before he could think and

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speak, and a whole month before he was quite recovered. Nobody dared venture into the neighbourhood of the mysterious house, which was said to be the abode of some *old tanuki* that had played this trick upon the physician. Afterwards, however, the animals were driven away, and nowadays no trace of them is to be found. Bustling streets have taken the place of that lonely spot and nobody now knows anything about the haunted house.

In the *Rōō chawa*[1] we find the following legends.—A fox had devoured the falcon of a Daimyō, who became so angry that he announced to the Inari of his compound that he would let her shrine go to decay. In the night many flaming torches were seen, and the next morning a fox-skin was found hanging on a tree near the Inari shrine. A diviner was called and when this man, standing before the shrine, dipped bamboo leaves into boiling water and sprinkled his body therewith, the goddess possessed him and spoke through his mouth, saying that the culprit, a very venerable court-lady[2] and sacred messenger of Inari, had been seized and skinned at her command in order to pacify the Lord.[3]

On the same page another story is told about a female servant of Hideyoshi's consort, who was possessed by a fox (1536-1598). Hideyoshi sent a private letter to the temple of Inari, asking the goddess why she was angry, and requesting her, if this was not the case, to order her servant, the fox, to go out of the woman immediately, otherwise he would order a fox-hunt throughout the whole of Japan. This letter was placed by a priest in the inner part of the temple, and lo! within a single day the woman was cured.

On p. 367 the fox's revenge is narrated. A hunter, who had frightened a sleeping fox by discharging his gun near the

1. 老媼茶話, "Tea-talks of old women," written in 1742 by MISAKA DAIYATA, 三坂大彌太.

2. Comp. *myōbu*, above p. 55.

3. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū, 近世奇談全集, p. 380.

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animal's ear, was visited in the middle of the night by two magistrates with a whole retinue, who ordered him in the name of the Lord to commit harakiri, because he had been shooting in the Lord's demesne. The poor man was about to obey the command, and the magistrates were standing at each side of him will full authority, when the house dogs jumped into the room and attacked them. Suddenly the stately men of the law changed into foxes and were killed, both they and their followers, which tried to escape in all directions in their original shape. This was the revenge of the fox that had been aroused from his sleep.

An old tanuki, which was pursued by a dog, was saved by a child. That night the animal appeared in the dreams of the child's parents in the shape of a nice child, and asked permission to live under the verandah during the winter. The next morning the master of the house ordered all the inmates to let the tanuki alone. Now and then they gave the animal food, and after having announced it before in the dreams of husband and wife the tanuki played the belly-drum for them one night, and made very nice music. At last he appeared in their dreams for the third time and told them that he would be bitten to death by a dog the next day. "In my former existence", he said, "I was the hunter Kenkurō, and Kenkurō's previous existence was the same as my present one; it is his dog that must kill me to-morrow. We animals have this advantage over men that we know about previous and future existences." The next morning the man went out to seek the tanuki and found it dead, killed by a dog, and he buried the animal near his house.[1]

On p. 263 we find *old tanuki and foxes* (狐 狸, kori) mentioned together, as frequently elsewhere. "There are", as we read there, "three kinds of strange animals. First, thin ones, with emaciated faces, red eyes, thin and long trunks, legs as

1. Pg. 280.

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long as those of a horse, and a cry that is loud like the tone of a bell. These are tanuki. Secondly, tanuki with round faces, sharp noses, spotted skins, and that are blind of an eye. And thirdly, foxes with large ears, round eyes, pointed cheeks, wide mouths, old and big, but without a right arm (!)." It seems that this description is partly that of the animals themselves, partly that of their human metamorphoses. The missing right arm reminds us of the three-legged foxes, mentioned in the *Sakai kagami*.[1] As to the one-eyed tanuki, to this kind belonged the beasts which haunted the physician in the *Kwaidan toshiotoko*[2], and also the old one-eyed woman in the following :—A monastery was haunted by tanuki and foxes. One night a man came and made as if to stroke the face of a priest, but the latter seized his arm and cut it off; and it was the hairy leg of an old fox. Another time a guest who passed the night in the monastery was kept awake by a large number of puppies, which kept continually appearing and disappearing. He went to the privy, but when he was about to leave it, the door was strongly pressed upon from the outside. He peeped through a crack in the door and saw an old woman standing on the other side. Immediately he pushed his sword through the crack and pierced her breast, whereupon she fled, bleeding profusely. A moment later a light appeared as of a comet flying through the air and falling upon the verandah. When the man ran to the spot it was again the same old witch. Once more he hit her with his sword and she fled, leaving a splotch of blood on the stone before the verandah. The next evening an old *one-eyed* woman came with a little girl to the abbot and requested him to read a mass at the funeral of her elder sister. The abbot, who knew that they were tanuki, menaced her with a piece of bamboo, and both woman and child ran away. That night a great number of burning torches were to be seen in the neighbourhood, and it was as if

1. See above p. 69.
2. See above p. 69 seqq.

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a big crowd was reading sutras and praying. Temple gongs and kettledrums resounded, but at last the torches disappeared and the voices became silent. The next day the abbot sent somebody to the spot, and an old dead tanuki, as big as a calf, was dug out of the ground. It was, of course, the old woman whom the guest had wounded.[1]

"As to old foxes and tanuki, on clear, calm moonlight nights they come with their young out of their holes and play together on flutes and drums, to the delight of the villagers who hear the music from afar. This is, according to old tradition, the belly-drum (hara-tsuzumi) of the tanuki. In olden times it was said that foxes and tanuki, more than a thousand years old, could do supernatural things, such for example as producing thunder and rain and robbing the bodies of the dead."[2])

On p. 282 a *mujina* is mentioned, which appeared in a castle in the shape of a boy and predicted to the castellan his approaching death. On the next New Year's morning the man found a new coffin and funeral apparatus in the parlour, and in the evening there was everywhere a sound as of the beating of mochi (rice cake). Shortly afterwards the castellan fell ill and died. In the summer of the same year somebody saw a tall lay-bonze, black as pitch, scooping up water near the castle; and when he attacked the strange apparition, it suddenly vanished. Some time afterwards the decaying body of a dead mujina was discovered in a wood, and from that time no strange things happened.

The *Sanshū kidan*[3] speaks about a fox, not yet experienced enough in transforming itself, which makes a mistake and walks about as a man with a fox's tail, much to the amusement and derision of those whom he wishes to delude, and then full of shame he runs away[4]. Another time a fox appears to the abbot

1. Pg. 267.

2. Pg. 266.

3. 三州奇談, written in 1764 by HOTTA BAKUSUI, 堀田参水; Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū.

4. Ch. I, p. 674.

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of a monastery as the ghost of a man who had recently died, and complains to him about a mistake in his posthumous name, which prevents his going to heaven. He shows the abbot the paper with the wrongly written name, which he had probably picked up somewhere in a field. But the abbot, who knows quite well that a real ghost cannot carry anything, seizes the wrist of the mysterious guest and does not let loose in spite of all his struggling, beseeching utterances, stinking breath and demoniacal facial contortions. At last the spook takes its real shape, that of a big fox, and asks with tears for permission to go away. The abbot then sets him free, but first shows him to the astonished inmates of the monastery.[1]

A third story tells about a pregnant white fox, the life of which was spared by a hunter against the order of his master, who punished the hunter for his disobedience with the deprivation of all his rights and then dismissed him. In a dream the distressed man saw the fox in the shape of a woman who said to him: "For my sake you are unhappy, but I will make you rich and eminent. Go to Yedo, where my husband is." The man did so, and one night a white fox appeared to him and taught him a magic formula for the cure of all diseases. This made his fortune, and he thankfully built an Inari shrine and caused a friend to do the same with the money that had been lent to him for taking the journey to Yedo, and which the friend would not accept when he went to return it. A son of this friend did not take care of the shrine and was punished by Inari, becoming crazy and leading such a bad life that he lost all his property. Thereupon a member of the same family was possessed and said: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's (the wicked son's) house; if you take me to a special hall in the temple of Sannō, I will always be a tutelary god." This request was acceded to, and in the night a light appeared in evidence of the divine power of the fox, who henceforth protected the country.[2]

1. Ch. II, p. 704.
2. Ch. III, p. 793.

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With regard to the severity of the *revenge* taken by Inari, we may learn about it from a story of the *Shinchomonshū*,[1] where a man who had cut down Inari's sacred trees commits suicide after his wife and children have become mad and his mother has been killed by lightning. And we read per contra in Ch. III, p. 782 of the same work about rewards obtained from foxes. A man in whose compound a white fox had died, saw how hundreds of foxes came together in the night and, after coffining the dead fox, gave it a splendid funeral. Deeply moved the man erected a shrine over the grave and asked an Inari priest to celebrate in the shrine a yearly festival. His reward was great wealth, like that of a poor peasant who had become a beggar, and yet gave food to a fox which he saw bringing forth young under the eaves of an old Shintō temple where he was himself passing the night with his two children on the way to Yedo. On coming into the neighbourhood of Yedo he met an old ascete, who gave food to his children, as much as they could eat. The innkeeper said: "That man has been here already for years, begging food on the highway, but nobody knows where he lives. He is believed to be the metamorphosis of a fox, and tradition says that whoever gets anything from him becomes extraordinarily happy." This was true, for the sons of the poor peasant became rich merchants and bought a yashiki (a piece of ground with a house in it).[2]

On p. 819 (Ch. IV) we read about a sorcerer who gave performances in Kyōto with "spirit foxes" (氣狐, ki-ko) and gold-dragons (金龍, kinryū), and who could produce two persons from one.

An old *tanuki* or *fox* was supposed to be the original shape of a strange woman, not less than thirty shaku[3] long, with a face 3 shaku in length, who was seen several times at dead of

1. See above p. 62, note 1; Ch. IX, p. 124.
2. Ch. III, p. 783.
3. 1 shaku=11.9 inches.

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night, with a lighted torch in her hand. It was certainly the vital spirit (精) of an old being that lived in that neighbourhood[1]. Also in other regions nocturnal apparitions, as for example black priests of enormous stature, who attacked passers by, or a six or seven shaku long female head which passed by laughing, accompanied by lightning and earthquake, or which spat upon a man, who became yellow and fell ill, but was cured by means of the medicine called ekikitō (益氣湯, a remedy against sunstroke); or a flaming head which burned the foot of any one that kicked against it, all these apparitions were explained as the work of *old tanuki*, or the vital spirits of old beings, or else of a bird which had transformed itself.[2] An old tanuki knocked at a gate night after night, till it was killed with an arrow[3]. *Ignes fatui* were ascribed to an old tanuki which had taken the shape of a tall lay-bonze. (nyūdō, 入道) and was killed by a hunter[4].

Tanuki and *mujina* (貉) are mentioned together in a story on p. 749 (Ch. III). An old Buddhist monk was killed by dogs and appeared to be a mujina. When this was reported to the abbot of the monastery to which he had pretended to belong, the abbot said: "That monk lived here for about two hundred years. Nobody knew his origin; but it was known that he had saved a large number of gold-pieces, received from the supporters of the monastery. About ten days ago he suddenly came and said: 'To-day I have been killed by a dog in Kita-ura; you must hold a funeral service for me.' Thereupon he vanished." The abbot held the service, thinking that the soul of the monk would reach Nirvana by virtue of the masses said; and, in order to free the soul from the love of money, which the monk had shown during life, he gave all the gold the man had saved to the two coolies who had

1. Ch. I, p. 668.
2. Ch. III, p. 771.
3. Ch. IV, p. 827.
4. Ch. III, p. 752.

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informed him of the death of the mujina. But the curse of the spook-monk was attached to the money, and caused madness and death to the whole family of one of the two men. When the other heard this, he immediately erected a stone monument for the monk and had a funeral service held. On a paper, on which the mujina had written some unreadable characters there was a red seal containing the character 霾, a combination of 雨, rain, and 狸, tanuki.. The auther adds: "In Japan as well as in China there are a great number of legends in which tanuki and mujina transformed themselves into men and discussed all kinds of things. The mujina of Morotake-zan[1] take the shape of monks and discuss Buddhist sutras. The old stranger who talked about the five Chinese classics with the Chinese called Tung Chung-shu[2] is said to have been a mujina[3]. These animals live in holes, yet they know when it will rain. This is all due to the supernatural power of the tanuki and mujina. But it is a strange fact that the old mujina of this legend, who had lived for such a long time among men and possessed such enormous magical power, could be killed by a mere dog."

It was also a mujina who haunted, in the beginning of the Kyōho era (1716-1735), the neighbourhood of a big oak. Whoever passed by the tree at night, saw an old witch with a suckling in her arms, which she would throw at the frightened man. If he drew his sword and struck the suckling it appeared to be a stone. A samurai who had heard about this matter, attacked the vixen instead of the child and gave her such a violent cut with his sword, that she uttered a loud cry and disappeared. The suckling also at once vanished. The samurai's sword was covered with blood, and the next morning bloody traces led to a big hole under a bamboo fence, where a dead mujina was found. The hero was admired by all who heard of the incident, but afterwards the revenge of the mujina

1. 諸嶽山.
2. 董仲舒.
3. According to BAKIN, above p. 11, it was a tanuki.

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caused his death. For when in a fight he jumped over a fence the hem of his trousers caught fast and caused him to fall, whereupon he was killed by his pursuer. People said that the spirit (氣) of the old mujina had taken vengeance upon him, and from that time nobody dared approach or repair the fence, because this was supposed to cause calamity.[1]

In the *Sanshū kidan kōhen*[2] we read a story about a fox that had taken the shape of a Zen priest, and was discussing religious topics with another priest, but suddenly ran away in his vulpine form because he became suspicious that the other was a transformed dog.

On p. 909, Ch. III, three things are mentioned which were causes of unhappiness to a certain family: 1. falconry, 2. fox-catching-comedies (tsurigitsune no kyōgen[3]) and 3. a grey horse (kawarage no uma). Falconry was forbidden by Kwannon who, on having transformed herself into a snowy heron, was attacked by a falcon. As to the fox-catching comedies, they were considered to be unlucky because one of the family, who in his dream had heard foxes howling in the garden and tried to imitate them, had become mad and wandered about every night, crying like a fox, and then soon afterwards died. The grey horse was an unhappy thing for the following reason. The family always kept a large number of foxes, because in olden times it was once helped in a fight by these animals. Therefore it was strickly forbidden to let dogs enter the compound. Once when a grey horse had come there all kinds of strange things happened, probably because the foxes hated that colour, or for some other mysterious reason. In the night the groom could not sleep, and the horse itself became dull and lost its usual spirit. A woman was several times seen standing in front of the stable. The unhappy colour grey

1. Ch. V, p. 846.

2. 三州奇談後編, written in 1779; Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū; Ch. III, p. 900.

3. Comp. above p. 69.

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(kawarage) was also the colour of the small cat of a little girl, which made a noise on the roof night after night for three successive nights as if a heavy weight was thrown down upon it. When it was discovered that this cat was certainly a haunting demon, the beast changed into a fox and ran away, but the poor girl directly fell ill and died.[1]

A bridal procession, the persons in which had blackened their faces with oil and kettle black, was supposed to be a procession of foxes with human shapes and fox heads. They were submitted to a trial by fumigating their faces[2] and putting them in a bath, neither of which foxes can stand. Then it appeared that they were real men.[3]

An old fox was saved from the hands of some boys by a man who pitied the animal and gave it food. The other villagers said that he was too soft-hearted and that therefore the fox certainly would possess him instead of taking it out on the boys by possessing them. He believed this himself and imagined that his hands and feet already moved in a queer sort of way, nay he even wrapped horse dung in paper and looked at it as if he would eat it. He stopped working and shut himself up in a room. There he waited three days, always expecting the fox to appear. And at last the beast did come, jumping into the room in the dead of night. The frightened man cried loudly for help, but the fox quieted him and said that he did not come to possess him, but only to say that the foxes of the neighbourhood were not thinking of possessing men for fear of being caught by dogs, and that he could quietly resume his work. Thereupon the fox disappeared and the man awoke as from a dream. He was quite cured and worked thereafter as usual.[4]

Ignes fatui, believed to be produced by *tanuki* and *mujina*, appeared on rainy nights.[5]

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1. Ch. III, p. 917.
2. Ch. VI, p. 963.
3. Ch. VII, p. 985.
4. Ch. VI, p. 956. Comp. above p. 77.

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In the *Umpyō zasshi*[1] we read the following story.—In Ōsaka there was a field play-actor who was called the "target-mark-man," because he challenged everybody to use him as a target and aim at his naked stomach. Many persons tried it for fun (paying him, of course, for this strange performance), but he always escaped the bullet by a quick movement like that of a flying bird. For this his fame spread all over the city. An old sharpshooter, who had many pupils, was forced by the latter to show his art against this strange target, although he at first refused because he did not like useless blood-shedding. He hit the clothes of the target-man, not the stomach itself, but lo! the man died in the midst of the smoke. When the pupils, full of admiration at their master's skill, asked him for an explanation of the matter, he said: "This target-man had a fox in his service, which followed him for the sake of food. The fox, hiding its body in the clothes, presented a false shape to the deluded people. Whoever hit this shape, only hit the air; but I hit the clothes in which the fox was hidden, and therefore there must be a dead fox." And sure enough an old fox, killed by a bullet, was found the next day in the village Namba. The teacher who knew his art and the wicked demons so well, must have been a clever man indeed.

The *Kanden kōhitsu*[2] gives the following legends:—"There is a fox which lives in Shōnenji, a Buddhist temple of the Ikkō sect in a village in the neighbourhood of Hachiman in Ōmi province. This fox has protected the temple from the beginning till now against fire and other calamities, and is said to be also a guardian of the priest, whenever the latter goes out to perform his religious duties. Although invisible to human eyes, the fox once complained with a human voice to the

1. 雲邨雜志, written by YANAGIZAWA KIEN, 柳澤淇園, who died in 1758. The preface is written in 1796 and the book is printed in 1843. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 818.

2. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799 by KANDENRO KŌKEI, 閑田廬高蹊, whose own name was BAN SUKEYOSHI, 伴資芳, and whose house was called "Kandenro." He lived 1732—1806. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 續下—(V).

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priest, saying that some one had made him dirty by throwing something on the priest's sandals, while he, the fox, was sitting on them as a guardian during a religious service in a private house. The priest answered that his anger was irrational, as nobody could see him, which the fox admitted to be true. On another occasion the animal gave the following information :— 'In general we foxes are divided into three ranks, to wit, the so-called "shuryō"[1] or "chiefs," which belong to the first rank ; the "yorikata"[2] or "assistants," to the second rank ; and the "yako"[3] or "field-foxes", to the third. Those which bring calamity upon mankind are mostly field-foxes. But we, the chiefs, can only govern the assistants and field-foxes which are under our immediate command, not those of other chiefs. There are chiefs everywhere, and when one of them wants to govern the assistants or field-foxes of another chief, the latter gets very angry and never forgets it ; for they are more implacable even than men.' This was the answer the fox gave when he was asked about a fox-possession. If anybody wants to ask something of the fox, he generally writes the question down and puts the paper in the main hall of the temple, where he afterwards finds a written answer. The fox may also answer with a human voice, although invisible. As a rule he has respect for the priest of the temple and treats him as his master. Once the fox asked for assistance because he had, as he said, not money enough to secure a higher rank. The priest assented but thought it strange, and asked the fox how he had got any money at all. The answer was : 'I have always picked up and kept the money which fell beside the offering-box.' The fox is said to live always above the ceiling of the main hall. As to the use of money for getting a higher position, this is not confined to this particular fox, for I have heard the same said about other foxes. Therefore I asked the

1. 主領.
2. 寄方.
3. 野狐.

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priests of Inari where these animals paid the money, but none of of them knew anything about it. The deeds of foxes are secret."[1]

In the compound of Zōjōji, the great Buddhist temple in the Shiba district (Yedo), there was a little fox shrine. One day the abbot ordered a newly arrived priest to take an offering to that shrine and to perform the service there. Next day a man with a cap and a ceremonial dress came and requested another priest to tell the abbot that he, the stranger, would like to obtain a new shrine, as Benten had appeared in his former one, where he had lived for many years. The fact was that the priest had thought it was a Benten shrine where he was to hold a service and had therefore held a Benten service in the fox shrine. The abbot ordered a new shrine to be built for the fox, who then appeared again in the same shape, thanked the priest for having told the matter to the abbot, and promised to protect him during his whole life, so that he should never be in want of clothes or food. Another priest of the same temple was possessed by a fox and acted as a woman. He asked the abbot for a new shrine and an offering of a rice cake on the first and fifteenth of each month, because his own shrine, which had been in the garden of the neighbours, had been demolished. The abbot assented, whereupon the possessed priest wrote the name of the fox in beautiful characters on a tablet, which was attached to the torii of the new shrine.[2]

"In Nambu (that is, Ōshū), at a place called Shichi no he (七戸), there is a moor about six ri[3] square. Every year, at the end of the second month, the so-called fox-regiment (狐隊, ko-tai) is to be seen there. The people of the neighbourhood go to look at it, carrying sake and other refreshments. Generally it is on a day with a lightly clouded sky. If one pays attention to the matter beforehand and sees twenty or thirty

1. Ch. III, p. 71 sq.
2. Ch. III, p. 72.
3. 1 ri=2 miles, 775 yards.

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foxes appearing and jumping about, the fox-regiment will certainly come that day. If the people then praise them loudly, suddenly a castle appears at a distance of two chō[1], and about two hundred helmeted horsemen, in full armour, seem to draw themselves up in long battle array. If the spectators continually applaud, the foxes suddenly imitate two processions of vassals, at one time that of the daimyō of Matsumae, and at another that of the daimyō of Tsugaru. Probably the battle array and the castle are intended to represent the old battle of the Kuriyagawa. It is said that the foxes of that moor do not appear except on this one occasion. If the spectators are numerous and cheer loudly, there are also a large number of foxes and the performance is brilliant; but if there are only a few spectators, there are also only a small number of foxes. This I have heard from an eyewitness."[2]

The so-called *mujina belly-drum* is mentioned in a book entitled *Shōnai kasei dan*[3]. It was heard in the An-ei era (1772-1780), on clear autumn nights, when the moon shone brightly, and it lasted from 3 to 5 A.M., continually sounding "ton, ton", now far away, now near at hand. But at last it was discovered to be only the treading of a pair of bellows in a smithy, the sound of which seemed to be farther away or nearer according to the wind, and at 5 o'clock, when the streets became noisy, was drowned by other sounds.

J. *Nineteenth Century.*

KYOKUTEI BAKIN[4] refers in his *Enseki zasshi*[5] to the *Ikkyū hanashi*[6], where we read a story about a tanuki which appeared

1. 1 chō=119 yards, 11 inches.
2. Ch. IV, p. 27.
3. 庄内可成談, quoted by INOUE in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. II, p. 230.
4. 曲亭馬琴.
5. 燕石雑志, written in 1810; Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a, under the heading "Tanuke", 田之怪.
6. 一休話説, a book of the Kwambun era (1661-1672); the author is unknown.

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to a dying man as Amida riding on a purple cloud, but on being hit by an arrow assumed its own shape. This, says BAKIN, is simply stolen from the *Uji shūi monogatari*.[1]

Further, BAKIN tells of a well-known tanuki which lived a long time in Sado province and was called Danzaburō. This was a supernatural animal, which lent money to the people. Those who wanted to borrow money from him, wrote the amount and the date of repayment on a piece of paper, which they signed with their name and seal and then laid near the tanuki's hole. When they came back the next morning and looked, the money was lying at the entrance of the hole, if the tanuki would lend it. But gradually the number of people increased so much, and there were so many who did not pay back, that the tanuki stopped lending. The same tanuki called a physician when he was ill. He had taken human shape and sent a sedan-chair for the doctor to come in. After a few days he was better and went to the physician with a big plate full of money, but the man would not accept it and asked who he was. Then the tanuki said that he was Danzaburō, whereupon the doctor refused the money still more emphatically, because, as he said, the tanuki certainly had not obtained his wealth in a good way. But Danzaburō answered that he had come by it honestly through picking up treasures lying in ditches and valleys, where houses had been burnt down in time of war or destroyed by floods. When the doctor still refused to accept the money, the tanuki came back with a precious sword, which was accepted.

The same tanuki was believed to cause *fata morgana*[2]. "Several times, on bright evenings, there arose from the Futatsuiwa ("Two Rocks") a vapour (氣, ki), half blue half red, which had the shape of a big house or a castle with halls and walls of earth and stone, which were all plainly visible; it was no mirage (shinkirō, 蜃氣樓, fata morgana caused by the

1. Comp. above p. 39.
2. Comp. above pp. 83 sq.

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breath (氣, ki) of a marine animal, the mizuchi, 蜃). This was considered to be the work of Danzaburō."

On p. 10 of the same chapter BAKIN remarks: "As there are no foxes in Sado, tanuki and mujina possess men there. In Hachijōjima, where no foxes, tanuki or mujina are to be found, mountain cats are said to do the same." Further, he says: "There was recently in Kamakura a priest-servant connected with a certain monastery, who went about in Izu and Kasuga begging for money. He made drawings and many villagers and women living in the mountains bought them from him. At last he was killed by a dog at Numazu and the astonished people discovered that he was a transformed tanuki." BAKIN supposes that the word "tanuki" was originally "ta no ke", 田怪, "rice-field-spook", or "ta-neko", 田猫, "rice-field-cat". He says that the tanuki is also called "field-cat",[1] and the cat "house-tanuki."[2]

The *Shumparō hikki*[3] contains the following communication by a physician in Ashimori, Bichū province. "Several times I have cured people of my village who were possessed by foxes. This was once the case with a woman whom the fox obstinately refused to leave. Therefore, I pinched her whole body and rubbed her forearms; I further bound one of her arms, which swelled up like a tumour (the fox, being pursued by the rubbing and pinching, had taken refuge in the arm), and was about to stick a needle into it, when the woman said: 'Now I will go away.' Thereupon I untied the bandage, but immediately the patient was in the same condition as before the treatment. The fox had deceived me. Again I rubbed her, and this time the fox came up to the shoulder. I was about to kill the animal by pricking it with a needle, when it became submissive and said: 'Now I will really go away, and to prove that I do

1. 野猫, ya-byō.

2. 家狸, ka-ri. Ch. V, nr 2, p. 7-a.

3. 春波樓筆記, written by SHIBA KŌKAN, 司馬江漢, who lived 1746-1818. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 1162.

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you may find my body in the bamboo grove.' And so it was, the body was there. Then I untied the bandage and with a cry the fox went out of the patient. Thus it is only the spirit (気, ki, "breath") of a fox which possesses men, not its body."

The *Shōkan zakki*[1] tells about a fox who had shaken off his vulpine form at the age of 500 years and went as an old pilgrim to a neighbouring Buddhist temple. He listened to a sermon and requested the priest to free him wholly from his fox body by means of some formula. The priest did so, and the old man said: "Now I am free; please give me a funeral as of a Buddhist monk". Then the priest went to the mountains and found a dead fox, which he buried.

A rich source of information on this subject is the *Tōen shōsetsu*[2]. We find there the following legends:—A man married a woman whom he had met on the road. She gave birth to two children and they lived together for years. Once, when she was dozing before the fire with her youngest child at the breast, the other child cried out suddenly: "Just look, father, mother has a fox face!" Immediately the woman sprang to her feet and ran away, and without coming back. After considerable search a baby's toy and a letter were found before a fox hole near by. When the woman's son grew up, he went away on a pilgrimage and never returned. The people always spoke of him as the "fox-uncle."[3]

In the An-ei era (1772-1780) a well-known jōruri-actor was richly entertained in a large farmer's house, where a big crowd filled the room and enthusiastically applauded him when he gave proof of his talent. After he had recited a long time,

1. 清閑雑記, written in 1824 by OKANISHI ICHŪ, 岡西惟中. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II), p. 1046.

2. 兎園小說, written in 1825 by BAKIN and seven others. *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正下 (II).

3. Ch. VI, p. 570.

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suddenly it became silent about him and lo! he was alone. No house, no room was to be seen, and in the dim morning light he found himself in a grave-yard! Hastily he fled away home, in the belief that foxes had deceived him and given him horse dung and cow urine instead of nice food and wine. The idea made him ill and confused, and for some days he kept to his bed. In the meantime the rumour rapidly spread all over the province, that he had been haunted by foxes which had asked him to play for them And this was true; but his suspicion about the food and wine the brutes had offered him was not correct, for on that same night a wedding had taken place in a neighbouring village, and all the eatables and drinkables which were ready for the guests had disappeared in a mysterious way. That was certainly the work of foxes or tanuki, for on the moor where they had entertained the actor, fish-bones and wine-cups lay spread about. Apparently the foxes, admiring his art, had offered him the food and wine, stolen from the wedding party. After some days the actor recovered, but he henceforth chose another profession and only recited jōruri now and then at somebody's request.[1]

In 1820 the daughter of a wholesale merchant in Yedo was possessed by the ghost of Bishop Yūten. She wrote a myōgō [2] and Yūten's name and signature. The rumour spread, and people came from all sides in order to obtain from her a myōgō. They said: "The bishop, who in olden times saved a bad woman of Habu mura (from hell) has come again!" Bishop Yūten namely, who had died in 1718, had quieted the angry spirit of a bad woman by means of reading a sutra. Thus a large crowd daily gathered before the gate of the girl's house and she wrote myōgō for them all. But at times when the ghost was not in her, she was nothing but an ordinary girl. The author (who was one of the authors of the *Tōen shōsetsu*)

1. Ch. VII, p. 589.

2. 名號, "name": "Namu Amida Butsu," 南無阿彌陀佛, that is, an invocation of Amida.

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had got such a myōgō from an acquaintance. The characters were written on a magnificent ground of red brocade, but two of them were wrong. On account of these mistakes an old man, an authority in such things, declared it to be the work of *foxes* or *tanuki*. He said that the mistakes were made intentionally, for fear of Buddha's punishment (for in this way, with the wrong characters, it was no real myōgō and therefore no sacrilege!). At last, when a man interrogated the girl closely, the fox showed his real nature, and there was no doubt any longer about her being possessed by such an animal. The fox, hard pressed by the questions, went out of the girl. The reason of the possession was that her mother, a widow, had illicit intercourse with a silk merchant who often passed the night in her house (apparently the man had a fox in his service and carried the beast with him). When this came to be known, the silk merchant fled, the widow was sent to her native village and the girl went to the house of relatives.[1]

In 1809 a fox appeared to a certain man in a dream, and told him that he (the fox) was the son of the Inari from behind a shop in Hongō (a district of Yedo), and that he had quarrelled with his mother, so that he did not want to return home. He requested the dreamer to allow him to stay in his house and promised that he would not annoy him. The man assented and saw that the fox was very glad; then he awoke, wondering what the strange dream might mean. The next day the maid-servant began at once to work much harder than usual. She drew water, washed rice, chopped fuel, and even sewed, which art she never had learned. She worked in this way every day, and did more than five men. Once she predicted rain, although the sky was quite clear, and caused her master to take his umbrella with him when he went out, which proved afterwards to have been very good advice. Another day she predicted the arrival of guests. All her predictions came true, and she was

1. Ch. IX, p. 679.

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altogether exceedingly useful. It was all due to the fox which possessed her and which showed its thankfulness in this way.[1]

After having qualified the haunting of foxes as very bad, but that of tanuki as harmless, the author speaks about the *writings* and *drawings* of tanuki, as seen by himself. One of them was a divine communication[2] by the Inari of Kyōto[3], a mixture of seal-characters, square style and running-hand, with many mistakes in the language. It had been written by a Buddhist priest who had stayed in the house (where the writing was preserved), and who was called "the silent ascete" (because he did not speak). After some time he was attacked by a dog and bitten to death, whereupon he appeared to be a tanuki. A similar legend was told about another specimen of handwriting at Kawasaki, where in the author's time a tanuki in the shape of a Buddhist priest had lived for a space of six years, engaged in converting people; at last he was killed by a dog near Tsurumi. Another old tanuki, also transformed into a bonze, had drawn a picture, which was shown to the author by its owner.[4]

A medical student in Nakabashi was so fond of tanuki, that he collected everything that had to do with them, books and drawings, curios etc. He possessed for example a so-called *ri-seki* (狸石), or "tanuki stone", a natural stone which looked exactly as if it were painted. It was not quite two sun long, and was slightly red and white, with a black tanuki in it. All the ornament's of the student's tobacco-pouch, the metal of his purse, and so on, had the shape of tanuki. During the whole of his life the tanuki was his favourite topic of conversation. Probably there was some connection between him and this animal carried over from a previous existence.[5]

1. Ch. VIII, p. 612.
2. 託宣, taku-sen.
3. Inari sansha, "the three temples of Inari"; see below.
4. Ch. V, p. 522.
5. Ch. V, p. 527.

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In 1805 a tanuki lived above the ceiling of a house in Ōnuki-mura, a village in Katori district, Shimōsa province. At the request of a guest, who wished to see the writing of the tanuki, the master of the house took some paper and a pencil, struck fire upon it from a flint (as upon an offering) and placed it in the room. After a while paper and pencil flew of themselves to the ceiling and were soon found to have been used by the tanuki, for there were some characters on the paper, and also the words, "Tanuki, 108 years old". The next year the animal wrote, "109 years", a proof that it was true, said the people. Sometimes the tanuki would descend from the ceiling into the room and come to the master of the house, and one day the master jokingly said to it: "As you understand magic art, you must show something rare on such and such a day, because I intend to invite some guests then." When the fixed day came and the guests were assembled, the host told them what he had said to the tanuki, and everybody was on the tiptoe of expectation. All at once the garden changed into a broad dyke, and all sorts of merchants were there, building large shops or exhibiting their wares on mats. From all sides buyers came, and it was a busy market scene. At last the vision disappeared. This caused the rumour about the tanuki to spread more and more, and a lot of people asked to see the writing, ill persons came to be cured, greedy ones came for gain, and each prayer uttered was said to be heard by the tanuki. As the number of pilgrims continually increased, the rumour reached the ears of the Yedo authorities. An official was secretly sent to the place and made a close search into the matter, but as it appeared to be no mere scheme of a yamabushi or such kind of fellow, and took place in the house of a samurai, who was castellan of a great daimyō, the official did not find any ground for complaint and went away back. But from that time nobody was allowed to enter the tanuki-house without introduction. Moreover, it was said that the tanuki at last did not appear any more. Later, shortly before 1825, a

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tanuki was exhibited in Ryōgoku (in Yedo), but the authorities prohibited the show, for fear that this tanuki would become as famous as that of Ōnuki-mura.[1]

In the Kwansei era (1789-1800) a tanuki had taken the shape of a woman and stood night after night on a cross-roads at a mountain inn, in order to seduce men. Afterwards the animal made a hole in a garden near by and lived there.[2]

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*[3] tells about foxes which, on being disturbed by the throwing of a stone, took vengeance by preventing the culprit from passing along a narrow path. They did this by means of long daimyō processions and by knocking at the victim's gate in the middle of the night and causing him to go out in vain. Their shape was quite human, but their cry was somewhat hoarse.[4] Further, a so-called "*kuda*" (管, pipe) is mentioned, "a strange beast of the size of a cat, with a cat's head, the trunk of a river otter, dark grey hair over the whole body, and a big tail; in short, a kind of large squirrel, which is called "kuda" by the people of Shinano province and is well known as a spook-beast."[5] This beast caused a farmer's wife to cry in the night, and it was killed in the dark by the physician who was called in.[6]

A devout old tanuki in human shape, with a rosary in hand, had a talk with an old woman every evening, and at last predicted that he would fall into a trap and die on the next day thereafter. He said that he could not avoid this fate, and that his body would be without wounds and with a half-white tail. And he was found just so and buried, and a funeral service was conducted on his behalf by the abbot of a neighbouring monastery at the request of the old woman, who also erected a stone monu-

1. Ch. V, p. 525.

2. Ch. V, p. 528.

3. 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849 by MIYOSHI SHŌSAN, 三好想山. *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Vol. XLVII, Kinsei kidan zenshū.

4. Ch. I, p. 432.

5. Compare the kuda-gitsune (kwanko) below.

6. Ch. IV, p. 564.

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ment on the tanuki's grave.[1] In the same way an old fox knew of his unavoidable death beforehand.[2]

A bad tanuki trick is told on p. 614 (Ch. V). A man had promised his sweetheart to go to a wood in the evening, in order that they might commit suicide together. But his love of life was stronger than his love for the girl, and he did not turn up. A tanuki, who was aware of it and saw the girl waiting in vain, took the shape of her lover and going with her into the depth of the wood, threw a string over a branch of a tree and hung the girl at one end and himself at the other. But he forgot that he was much lighter than the girl, being only a tanuki, and the result was that he was pulled into the air and strangled, while the girl's feet just barely touched the ground. So she was found alive, although unconscious, and the dead tanuki was hanging over her head.

INOUE ENRYŌ, whose excellent work, the *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, "Lectures on Folklore",[3] we have mentioned already very often, gives information which he obtained from country folk. Included in it are the following stories.—A farmer in Shimozuke province had thrown a stone at a strange bird which he saw sitting by the roadside. On returning home he suddenly fell ill, and no medicines could cure him. His condition grew worse and worse, and he fell into a state of madness which made his father think that the sickness was the work of foxes or tanuki. An exorcist (shugenja, yamabushi) was called and requested to fast and pray on behalf of the patient. The man put the "sacred instruments"[4] against the wall and recited some tantras (magical formulae) before them. Then he sat down with his back to the wall. The patient, who was so weak

1. Ch. IV, p. 576.

2. Ch. IV, p. 585.

3. 妖怪學講義, by 井上圓了; third edition published in 1897.

4. 神器, shinki, namely *gohei*, etc. The gohei are the well-known paper slips, fastened upon a stick, through which gods and demons are believed to enter a medium. Comp. PERCIVAL LOWELL, *Occult Japan*, p. 153.

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that he could not get up, was lying beside him on a mattress, and a great number of spectators (amongst whom was the man who wrote of the matter years afterwards to INOUE) stood before and behind him. The exorcist requested that one of them come before him, and an old woman went to the front. But soon she appeared to be no good medium, and a man of about forty years took her place. After having washed and purified himself he sat down opposite the exorcist, with closed eyes and the gohei in his hands. The others sat about him in a circle, imitating the exorcist and reciting together magic formulae. After a while the gohei in the medium's hands began to move, first gently, then faster, till at last it was shaking violently. The others, seeing the effect of the tantras, recited with still louder voices, till the gohei shook so very violently indeed that it struck upon the ground.[1] Then the tantra reciting stopped and the exorcist asked the medium in a low voice: "From whence do you come and whither are you going?" But there came no answer. Thereupon the exorcist ordered him to show the directions with the gohei, and the medium pointed first to the South and then to the North-East. The exorcist, however, was not yet satisfied, and by more tantras and mudras (finger-distortions) he at last forced the medium to talk. The fox speaking through his mouth said: "I am afraid of my surroundings and want to go away. The reason why I have possessed the master of this house is that he hit me with a stone when I was sitting near a temple in the shape of a bird. I would take vengeance on him, but now I am so afraid (of the tantras and finger-charms) that I am going away immediately. Please give me twelve mon." Those who heard this said unanimously: "It must be an old fox who wants to cross a river in human shape. There is a river in the direction he has indicated, and the ferry fee is twelve mon. Therefore you must give the money to this man (the medium) and also food of

1. Comp. LOWELL l.l.

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which foxes are fond." Then the medium was carried out of the house. He cried continually, "Kon, kon", and fell sound asleep on the back of the man who carried him. The money and food that were given to him disappeared out of his hands (the fox taking them). After a while the medium awoke, but he was still stupified and did not remember anything of what he had said in his trance. He had only a little pain in his hands and feet.[1]

So wrote the eye-witness, who had seen the thing in his youth. It is evident that the fox, on being transferred by means of the tantras from the patient into the gohei and thence into the medium, had been compelled to go out of the latter by more tantras and mudras. He had taken the money and the food with him and left the medium unconscious behind. In the same way many fox-possessed patients are cured by the priests of a Shingon temple, who lead them before the Buddha image and read sutras on their behalf. The body of the patient begins suddenly to shake, and the priest asks the fox whence he comes and why he has possessed the patient, and the fox answers through the latter's mouth. It is curious that people who dislike sake when in their senses are fond of it when they are possessed by a fox. Some say that those possessed by a male fox cry "Kon-kon", and those by a female, "Gya-gya".[2]

In the Kaei era (1848-1853) a man was walking in the bright moonshine under a perfectly clear sky; when lo! all of a sudden it became pitch-dark. The man, a fearless fellow, calmly sat down by the roadside and smoked his pipe (foxes cannot stand smoke). Gradually it became as bright as before, and in the moonlight an old fox was stealing away on the other side of the road. The man thought to himself: "That fellow would haunt me, but he has failed because I was not afraid."[3]

1. Vol. IV, p. 221.
2. Vol. IV, p. 220.
3. Vol. IV, p. 206.

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The *hypnotic* power of an old fox was seen in another case. A farmer was walking over his field in a careless and queer sort of way, treading on the plants, turning from left to right and vice versa, and swinging his dung pail automatically from left to right. An old fox went before him, and the man followed after and swung his bucket exactly as the animal walked and moved its tail. Another farmer who saw this, drove the fox away; but the hypnotised man wished to follow the brute and said: "I have also business in that village over there". His friend, however, prevented him from going, and brought him back to his senses. Thereupon he told how he had run behind the fox to drive him away, now to the right, now to the left, till a neighbour had come and asked to go with him; so they had walked together to a village near by. It was clear that the fox had taken the shape of that neighbour and deceived the man.[1]

A similar case is mentioned on p. 209; but there it was an old *tanuki* which exercised the hypnotic power. The animal sat on a tree and looked at a farmer, who, walking to and fro through the field, thought that he was crossing a stream and muttered: "Deep, deep". Another who saw it shot the tanuki dead, and at the same time that the brute fell out of the tree, the farmer fell on the ground and wailed as if he had been hit. Another time a man stood before the dry bed of a brook, thinking it a broad stream, which he could not cross. Probably a fox played him this trick.[2]

A samurai's sword, with which he had killed a spook-fox, which stood on a bridge in the shape of a woman, became a precious heritage of his family, and when somebody is possessed by a fox or tanuki, he is cured at once by the laying of the sword upon his head.[3]

1. Vol. IV, p. 206.
2. Vol. IV, p. 207.
3. Vol. IV, p. 208.

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In 1893 a newspaper gave an account of a mysterious voice in the air, heard in Ōme village, Yamanashi prefecture, which answered all questions asked of it, at first only in the night, but later on in the day-time also. It knew the ages of the people, also events occurring here and there, nay even the thoughts of men. It predicted luck or calamity to single persons or to whole families, and prescribed strange but very effective medicines for sick persons. This voice was ascribed to a fox.[1]

In Shikoku, where no foxes are, the *tanuki* are looked upon as the culprits, when strange things happen. In the house of a peasant in Itano district, Awa province, some years ago, there were queer goings-on. A kitchen-knife moved without being touched, a fish disappeared out of a pot in which it was cooking, a messenger of a creditor came for money and got it, but two days afterwards the creditor asserted he had sent no messenger nor received any money. One night the tail of the peasant's horse was bitten off, and another night the horse broke out of its stable and ran to a neighbouring village. There was no doubt this was all the work of some old tanuki. Although the door of the stable was carefully closed, yet the horse escaped once again. When the stable was examined, the door was closed as before, and nothing particular was to be seen, but spread over the floor lay the money which the false messenger had received. In the same province, in Tomioka village, an old tanuki was believed to have bitten off the greater parts of some big tai fishes, which a few villagers had carried to a temple in the mountains.[2]

So far the legends on foxes and badgers. Let us now see what the principal works of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries say about these animals in general.

1. Vol. IV, p. 201, comp. above p. 27.
2. Vol. IV, p. 204 sq.

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CHAPTER III.

Ideas about foxes and badgers, prevalent in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

The *Honchō shokkan*[1], written in 1697, gives interesting details concerning the popular ideas of that time about foxes. We read there[2] the following. "When people hear them crying, they predict good luck or calamity.....The fox-fire is made by means of their tails, or, according to others, by means of human skulls, dry horse bones and old wood that has been lying under the ground; what is true I do not know. If people have fever or become mad or melancholy, or if a woman has died in childbed and strange things happen afterwards, or if a baby cries in the night as a result of bad dreams —this is all mostly the work of foxes, and a result of demoniacal possession. Those who are haunted by foxes are commonly children, women, and stupid, very timid or half crazy men. If the fox-possession is light, the fox can be exorcised by magicians (巫祝). The vital spirit (精) of the fox goes in under the skin and makes a tumour; if one examines this tumour well and rubs it hard and pricks it with a needle or a knife, the fox goes away. Further, if one lets loose a very good hunting dog, the dog knows the smell of the fox and barks continually and wants to bite the patient; then the fox goes away. If the possession is a serious one, the fox will not leave for years, and the patient becomes a good-for-nothing. If the fox has enmity (宿怨) against the patient and does not go out of him, he finally takes the patient's life. Others say that if a fox changes into a woman and has sexual intercourse with a

1. 本朝食鑑, written in 1697 by HIRANO HITSUDAI, 平野必大; see above p. 57, where we referred to this book in respect to the name "*yakan*".

2. Ch. XI, Section Animals, p. 20.

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man, this man dies or if not, the fox itself dies.[1] But this is very strange and illogical. Further, it is said that if it is doubtful whether somebody is possessed by a fox or not, *shikimi* leaves[2] must be cooked and given as a medicine to the patient. One possessed by a fox dislikes this very much, and refuses to take the medicine, but those who are really ill, take it, even though they dislike it. This is logical."

"Of late there are sorcerers in Japan who have foxes in their service. They say that they have studied the *Izuna* doctrine[3]. This doctrine can be described as follows: They seek the den of a fox and always keep a pregnant fox and tame it. When the time of bringing forth its young has come, they are still more careful in guarding the fox. When the cub has grown up, the mother fox comes with it to the sorcerer and requests him to give it a name. He does so, whereupon the mother bows and goes away with it. If afterwards the sorcerer encounters any sort of difficulty, he secretly calls the young fox by its name, and the animal comes to him, being invisible. If the sorcerer asks it about some secret matter, the fox always knows and can tell him. The bystanders cannot see the fox. As the sorcerer tells wonderful things, the people consider him a god. But if he afterwards does something impure, or is idle, the fox never comes again and at the last the sorcerer is ruined."

"From olden times the following tradition has prevailed among the people: The fox is the divine messenger of Inari. All the foxes of Japan come as pilgrims to the temple of Inari at Kyōto.

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1. Comp. above p. 26.

2. The *shikimi* (樒) is "the Illicium religiosum, an evergreen tree of the order Magnoliaceae growing wild in the mountains of warm regions. The leaves have a fragrant odor and are used to adorn the vases offered to Buddha. An incense is prepared from the dried leaves by reducing them to powder." See "Useful plants of Japan," published by the Agricultural Society of Japan, s v., from which book Mr. G. TSUDA was kind enough to give me the above information.

3. 飯縄法, Izuna no hō; see below.

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They can jump over torii, and haunt (men). According to their skill in haunting they obtain various ranks from Inari."

"Formerly I heard an old sorcerer remark: 'The goddess Inari is the child of Susanoo no Mikoto, namely *Uga no mitama*.[1] Whether or not in very olden times the fox was Inari's messenger, I do not know. But in every village, and in every house, there were foxes which always hid themselves and were invisible. Therefore, wherever there was a space between villages and between houses, a little shrine was sure to be built and a fox-god was worshipped under the name "Inari"; this divinity was prayed to for luck and believed to be a protection against calamity.'"

"A fox does not fear death, and if one cuts open its belly in order to take out the liver for preparing the medicine called U-sai-en[2], the animal does not move or tremble or even wince; when all its viscera are taken out, it dies just as if it is lying quietly with its head on a hillock. Although the fox is full of suspicion, yet it cannot resist the smell of rat fried in oil (abura-age), and is killed (in consequence of this weakness). Therefore the Japanese hunters catch them in traps, in which they put a dead rat, fried in oil, as a bait. Nowadays people do not eat fox flesh, but they take the fat and prepare an unguent from it, which being applied on boils has a marvellously beneficial effect."

A work of the same period, the *Yamato Honzō*[3], says that this animal produces fire by striking its tail, but at the same time the author remarks: "When the fox breathes out, its breath is as a fire, and this is called fox-fire"....."When the ice on lake Suwa, in Shinano province, gets strong, the foxes put ear to it and pass over, and then men pass over also; but if the listening takes place in spring, the people do not pass over

1. 倉稻魂靈, "The Soul of the Rice in the Store-houses", see below.

2. See above p. 62.

3. 大和本草, written by KAIBARA ATSUNOBU, 貝原篤信, who lived 1629-1714. Ch. XVI, s.v. FOX.

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any more. If a man is possessed and has become mad, they burn wolf dung and make him sniff in (the smoke), or they make him drink a cup of thin tea (which foxes dislike), or else they prick the patient with the tail (that is, with the needles which are on both sides of the tail) of the ei fish; this has a good effect, they say."

KOJIMA FUKYU[1] says: "The fox is an animal of Darkness[2] to the uttermost degree. Therefore the external evil (that is, the fox) enters people whose Light-spirit[3] has diminished. In general exaggeration of joy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, hatred and greed causes man to lose his original character and to become empty, and only possessed of the spirit of Darkness[4]. How could it happen otherwise on such occasions but that bad demons should enter into him?"

In the *Wakan sansai zue*[5] we read the following:—"In Japan there are foxes in all the provinces except Shikoku. As a rule they attain to a very old age, that of several hundred years. All foxes have human names, as for example in Yamato, Genkurō, and in Ōmi, Kosaemon. According to tradition they are the divine messengers of *Uga no mitama*, "the Soul of the Rice in the granaries". The foxes of Japan are all servants of the Inari temple at Kyōto, and the people build Inari shrines in order to worship them. Foxes which are worshipped in this way are of higher rank than others. When a fox is distressed, he generally cries like a little child (gya-gya), and when he is

1. 兒島不求, in his "*Heishoku wakumonchin*", 乘燭惑問珍, written in 1710 and printed in 1737; quoted by INOUE, *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, Vol. IV, p. 180.

2. 陰獸, injū, an animal belonging to the principle *Yin* (陰, Jap. *in* or *on*) opposite to that of *Yang*, 陽 (Jap. yō).

3. 陽氣, yōki, Yang-spirit.

4. 陰氣, in-ki.

5. 和漢三才圖會, "Japanese-Chinese picture book about the three Powers (Heaven, Earth and Man)", a Japanese recasting of the Chinese encyclopedia *San tsai tu hwui*, 三才圖會, written in 1713, by TERAJIMA RYŌAN, 寺島良安. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 590, s.v. Fox.

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joyful, he cries as if one were beating a pot (kon-kon). By nature he is afraid of dogs, and when he is pursued by a dog, he discharges such stinking urine, that the dog cannot approach him. If he wants to haunt mankind, he puts a skull upon his head and bows towards the Great Bear, whereupon he changes into a man. He deludes people, avenges harm done to him and proves himself thankful for kindnesses received. He likes azuki-meshi (rice and red pea-beans mixed and boiled) and abura-age (things fried in oil or grease) very much."

"As to fox-possession, the wicked spirit (that is, the spirit of the fox) enters the patient between the side of the shoulder and the armpit, and at that spot a tumour develops. The pulse of the patient becomes irregular and generally the thumb shakes violently. If a person who is well versed in the matter pricks the patient with a hot needle, the fox goes away. Or if one is in doubt (whether it is fox-possession or not), he gives the patient a dose of roasted shikimi leaves. One who is possessed by a fox will not swallow this at all, but if the illness is real the patient will swallow it readily, even though he dislikes the smell and the taste.[1]

Regarding the *tanuki*, the same encyclopedia[2] says that its flesh cures piles and running ulcers, if it is eaten three times in the form of soup[3]. An old poem by JAKU-REN[4] seems to show that in his time[5] the belly-drum was already known, for it runs as follows:

"An old monastery, where nobody lives,
Where even the bells give never a sound,
And tanuki alone beat the temple drum."

1. Comp. above p. 99.

2. Ch. XXXVIII (Animals), p. 589, s.v. tanuki.

3. Comp. the *Seki no Aki kaze*, 関ノ秋風, written by SHIRAKAWA RAKU-Ō, 白川楽翁, "The merry old man of Shirakawa", that is, the famous statesman MATSUDAIRA SADANOBU, who lived 1758-1829 and wrote after his political fall (1812), *Hyakka setsurin*, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 973, where we read about tanuki juice and the good effect of the ashes of a burned tanuki head in curing an illness which makes the patient absent-minded and forgetful.

4. 寂蓮, that is, FUJIWARA NO SADANAGA, who died in 1202.

5. The twelfth century.

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The tanuki are short-legged animals and cannot run fast, but they are very agile tree-climbers. *Old* tanuki can transform themselves and haunt people and places just as foxes can. Sometimes they drum on their bellies in order to amuse themselves; this is called "the tanuki-belly-drum." Sometimes they enter a house in the mountains, and sit at the fireside; and when they become warm their private organs swell up and become even larger than their bodies.

The *kaze-danuki* or "wind-badger" is, according to the Chinese author of the encyclopedia, an animal of the same size as a tanuki or otter, with the form of a monkey, but smaller. Its eyes are red and its tail is so short that it looks as if it had no tail at all. Its colour is blue, yellow and black. "In the day-time it lies motionless, but at night it jumps up in the wind and flies like a bird through the air. When people catch it in a net and look at it, it is ashamed and knocking its head on the ground begs for mercy. If one attacks it, it dies suddenly, but if it is then laid with its mouth toward the wind, it revives after a while. It only really dies when one breaks its bones and crushes its brain. One author says: 'If one wishes to cut it with a sword, the sword does not cut, and if one wishes to burn it, this also is impossible. If one strikes it, it is as if the skin were of iron; if one breaks its head, it stands up again when it gets its wind. It only dies if one stops up its nose with acorus gramineus.[1]' The Japanese author adds: "There are many kaze-danuki in the mountain forests of Ling Nan[2], but I have not heard that there are any in Japan."

So far the *Wakan sansai zue*. The flying through the air of this creature reminds us of the *kama-itachi*[3] or "sickle-

1. Sekishō, 石菖. Vgl. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. of China IV, p. 321, about the Acorus Calamus, 菖蒲, ch'ang-p'u. The Yang power of this plant, the name of which is written as a double sun (菖), can conquer the animal of the Darkness, Yin.

2. 嶺南, in China.

3. 鎌鼬.

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weasel". We find the kaze-danuki mentioned in the *Sanshū kidan*[1], where a one-legged, square-faced, ugly and malicious looking woman, who stood in the dead of night on the top of the balustrade of a bridge and laughed loudly in order to terrify drunken people, is supposed by the author, HOTTA BAKUSUI[2], to be perhaps a *fūri*[3] or "wind-tanuki", since the being could both walk and fly. Further, SHŌSAN, the writer of the *Shōsan chomon kishū*[4], quotes the *Wakan sansai zue*, but thinks that the wind-tanuki and the sickle-weasel are different things, although belonging to the same general class; for the shape of the former is visible, but the latter never so.

In respect to the *fox-fire* (kitsune-bi), the *Wakun no shiori*[5] says: "The breath of the fox is called fox-fire; some authors say that the fox makes fire by striking its tail. Fox-fire is said to burn with a bluish light; it is a demoniacal ignis fatuus.[6]"

SHŌSAN[7] remarks that often in drizzling nights a large number of lights appear. Somebody once hid himself in the midst of growing corn and saw the foxes approaching; but when he cried out, they extinguished their lights and stood still. Afterwards he found a lot of *horse bones* near by, which were probably the torches the foxes had held in their mouths. In other regions horse *hoofs* were believed to be the means by which the foxes produced the lights. According to KIUCHI SEKITEI[8] they have a shining pearl, the "kitsune no tama", at the end of their tails, but SHŌSAN thinks this to be something different from the fox-fire. This pearl reminds us of the

1. Written in 1779, see above p. 74. note 3; Ch. V, pp. 949 sq.
2. 瓢田参水; p. 952.
3. 風狸, kaze-danuki.
4. Written in 1849, see above p. 92, note 3; Ch. II, p. 470.
5. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776; Vol. I, ch. VII, p. 10.
6. 鬼燐, ki-rin.
7. *Shōsan chomon kishū*, Ch. I, p. 432.
8. 木内石亭, in his "*Unkonshi*", 雲根志, written in 1772.

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Chinese ideas[1] about the miraculous pearl which foxes hold in their mouths and which probably represents the fox soul. One of the two wooden foxes before the Inari shrines frequently has a pearl in its mouth, and the other a key[2].

SHŌSAN mentions also the explanation of HADA KANAE[3], in his *Isshōwa*[4], where somebody pretends to have seen that the light is caused by the *breath* of the foxes.

As to the *cutting of hair* ascribed to foxes, about which we read in the Chinese books[5], I have found this only once mentioned in Japanese literature, namely, in the *Wakun no shiori*[6], where we read: "In the (Chinese book) *K'ié-lan ki*[7], a transformed fox is said to have cut the hair of a hundred and thirty men. Not long ago the same thing happened in Yedo and in Okayama in Bizen province."

CHAPTER IV.

Fox-sorcery, Izuna and Dagini Ten.

Here and there in old Japanese works we have found passages about men who *had foxes in their service* in order to exercise *magic power*. And in close connection therewith is mentioned the doctrine of *Dagini Ten* and that of *Izuna*.

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1. See above p. 7.
2. Comp. BAKIN, *Enseki sasshi*, Ch. I, nr 9, p. 23-b.
3. 秦鼎, who died in 1831.
4. 一宵話, "Talks of one night."
5. See above p. 7.
6. See above p. 104, note 5; Vol. I, Ch. VII, p. 6-b.
7. This is probably the *Loh-yang K'ié-lan ki*, 洛陽伽藍記, written by YANG HÜEN-CHI, 楊衒之, under the Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-557). Comp. DE GROOT, *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, p. 598, where is also question of the Wei dynasty.

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We read first about the "*Law of Daten*" and the "*Deva-King, the Venerable Fox*" in the *Gempei seisuiki* (1250), where Kiyomori (1118—1181) met this Deva and decided to practice Daten's Law[1]. In the same work a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed nine-tailed fox, Pao Sz'. We read there that Daten is a fox.[2]

In the *Kokon chomonshū* (1254) a priest practiced the *Dagini*[3] doctrine for the sake of Fujiwara no Tadazane (1078-1162), and Dagini herself ate the offerings, having taken the shape of a fox, and appeared in Tadazane's dream as a supernatural woman, a heavenly angel (天女, devī) whose hair afterwards appeared to be a fox's tail.[4]

The word "*kitsune-tsukai*"[5], "employment of foxes" for magical purposes, appears for the first time in the *Yasutomi ki*, the diary of NAKAHARA NO YASUTOMI, who there relates how in 1420 the Shōgun's physician, his son and younger brother, as well as the Chief-Diviner, Sadamune Ason, were accused of having foxes in their service, and two foxes were driven out of the rooms of the Shōgun's Consort by means of incantations. The physician was banished to Sanuki province[6].

In the Keichō era (1596-1614) we find the Deva-king, the "Venerable Fox", under a Shintō name, *Kiko myōjin*[7], "the Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox", as a messenger of Inari, and afterwards his descendant, Osagitsune (長狐), exercising the same function and at the same time that of king over all the Foxes of Japan.[8]

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1. See above p. 42; 陀天法, 貴狐天王.
2. See above p. 43.
3. 陀祇尼法, Dagini no hō.
4. See above p. 44.
5. 狐仕.
6. See above p. 50 sq.
7. *Houchō koji inen shū*, Ch. III, nr 79, p. 17-a, see above p. 67; 貴狐明神.
8. Ibidem, nr 87, p. 3-b, above p. 68.

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In the eighteenth century the field play actor in Ōsaka, about whom we read in the *Umpyō zasshi* (before 1758), deluded the people by means of a magical fox, which showed a false target to those who shot at the man's exposed stomach.[1]

The *Izuna*[2] doctrine we found mentioned in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697), where there is a description of the way in which a sorcerer obtained his fox by the use of that doctrine.[3] The *Kenen ihen*[4] gives the following explanation:—"Izuna is the name of a mountain in Shinano province. As there is a *Tengu* shrine on the top of that mountain, the doctrine practiced there is called after the mountain's name. It is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*[5], and is practiced in vain if one uses old incense."

ASAKAWA ZENAN[6], who quotes this passage, remarks that the doctrine of this Dagini Ten includes perhaps the employment of foxes, and he refers to the above mentioned passage of the *Kokon chomonshū*. As to Izuna's shape, he adds: "In Kami Yoshida village, Kái province, there have been from olden times in the house of Kosaru Iyo, a Shintō priest of mount Fuji, three copper images of Dōryō, Izuna and Sengen (Asama)[7]. It is said that Izuna and Dōryō are both small Tengu each standing on a fox." And he further states[8] that Ōsugi dono[9] is also represented in nearly the same way, viz. as a small Tengu standing on a fox. These facts lead him

1. See above p. 81.

2. 飯縄法.

3. See above p. 99.

4. 蘆園遺編, written by OGYŪ MOKEI, 荻生茂卿, that is, SORAI, 徂徠, who lived 1665-1728.

5. 茶吉尼天.

6. 朝川善庵, in his *Zen-an zuihitsu*, 善庵隨筆, written before 1853, Hyakka setsurin, Vol. I, p. 672, under the heading "Izuna Gongen", 飯綱權現, "Manifestation of (Mount) Izuna."

7. 道了, 飯綱 and 淺間.

8. Pg. 673.

9. 大杉.

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to think that there is some connection between Tengu and foxes[1].

In the *Matsunoya gwaishū*[2] we read the following: *Izuna Saburō* (a Tengu) of Shinano province appears in a poem on the Tengu of Kurama. The name is written 飯縄, or 伊縄. On Mount Izuna in the neighbourhood of Togakushi (戸隠) in Shinano there are two Shintō temples, the Main Temple (Hongū, 本宮) and the Village Temple (Sato no Miya, 里ノ宮), with a distance of about one ri between them. The hand-washing place is called Ichi no sōchi[3]; its length is 5 chō, its breadth about 3 chō, and in the midst is an island. The sand of this pond is called '*izuna*' (飯沙, 'rice-sand'), because it consists of white grains like cooked rice, its taste resembles that of rice, and it is eatable. The name Izuna owes its origin to this 'rice-sand.' With reference to this temple compare the *Etsuyū kōnōshō*[4]. According to the temple tradition, the divinity who is worshipped there is *Ukemochi no kami*[5]. In the *Baison sailitsu*[6] and the *Wakun no shiori*[7] it is said that the Izuna doctrine is a worship of *foxes* and that the doctrine of Dagini Ten is heterodox. But since in the poem on the Tengu of Kurama Izuna Saburō (三郎) and Fuji Tarō are mentioned among the *Tengu*, the explanation of the Izuna doctrine as *fox* worship is not acceptable. Also on Takao san in Musashi province and on Hasuge san (波須計) and Nakazawa yama (中澤) in Sagami province there are great Shintō temples of *Izuna Gongen*, and the gods worshipped there are all *Tengu*. We read in Ch. III of the *Wakun no shiori* that

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*The Tengu*."

2. 松屋外集, written in 1839 by TAKADA TOMOKIYO, 高田與清.

3. 一之倉池.

4. 越遊行叢抄, Ch. V.

5. 保食神, the Goddess of Food. Comp. Uga no mitama on Mount Inari, and her connection with the fox.

6. 梅村載筆, written by HAYASHI HARUNOBU, 林春信, who lived 1642-1666.

7. 倭訓栞, see above p. 56, note 3.

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this god is worshipped also on Izuna yama near Sendai in Mutsu, and on Hinaga take (日永嶽) in Echizen."

So far TAKADA TOMOKIYO. Let us now hear the opinion of the author of the *Reijū zakki*[1], who has the following to say about Izuna:—"Of late there are persons who make use of foxes and call this the Izuna doctrine. According to what I have heard, these foxes are very small. They are probably of the same kind as the so-called *kuda-mochi* and *osaki-tsukai*." Then he quotes the passage of the *Matsunoya gwaishū* and says: "It is not certain that the Kurama-Tengu poem affords any real proof. And is there any clear proof of the assertion (of TAKADA TOMOKIYO) that in the Izuna temples of all provinces Tengu are worshipped? The Izuna rites are the practice of the heterodox doctrine of Dagini Ten, as it is called, and they include the use of *foxes*. The Tengu may have rejoiced in such a wicked doctrine and mixed themselves up in it, and if they lived on Mount Izuna they may have been called Izuna Saburō."

Another work, the *Bōsō manroku*[2], gives the following: "There is a heterodox doctrine, the cult of a bad devil (akuma, 惡魔), which blinds the eyes of the people, namely the so-called magic art of *Izuna* (伊豆那). I do not know when it began or who transmitted it. In the *Yamato honzō*[3] we read that it is the doctrine of the Indian *Dagini Ten*. The name is written, 飯綱 and 飯繩. It is said that Dagini Ten got the name of Izuna Saburō, because he was worshipped on Izuna yama at Sendai in Ōshū. In the *Sōgi monogatari*[4] we read that two persons practiced together this Izuna doctrine.

1. 靈獸雜記, "A miscellany on Supernatural Animals", probably written in the beginning of the 19th century; it is our principal source of information on Japanese fox-lore on account of the large number of works to which it refers.

2. 茅窓漫錄, written by CHIHARA TEI, 茅原定, who lived 1773-1840; Hyakka setsurin, Vol. I, p. 1029, under the heading "Izuna".

3. 大和本草, written before 1714, see above p. 100, note 3.

4. 宗祇物語, written by the priest SŌGI, 宗祇, who lived 1420-1502.

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This heterodox cult is also found on Togakushi yama in Shinano, Hinagatake in Echizen, Takao san in Musashi, and Akiba san in Tōtōmi province in the Shintō temple of Sanjakubō[1]. Formerly this cult was transferred from Mount Togakushi to Mount Akiba (two hundred years ago, and it comprises twenty different rites[2]). The name Dagini, written in four different ways, namely 荼吉尼, 陀吉尼, 陀祇尼 and 荼枳尼, is originally simply another name for *fox*.....As in the Dagini doctrine foxes are always used, the Buddhists call Dagini Ten also *Hakushin ko-ō Bosatsu*[3], the 'Bodhisattva, the white Fox-King,' or *Kiko Tennō*[4], the 'Deva-King, the Venerable Fox,' and it is said that Inari's shintai (god-body) is the image of this Dagini Ten. This heterodox doctrine has existed from olden times up to the present day. In order to drive away the Izuna sorcery, the leaves of the mō plant (莽草, mō-sō) are burned; for then the sorcery cannot be practiced.[5] In the Chinese book *Cheu li*[6] we read: 'The Cook (前氏) has the function of taking away the bad influences of ku-sorcery[7]; he burns mō plants and fumigates therewith (those who are possessed by means of sorcery), whereupon (the wicked creature) dies.' As this evil sorcery is of the same sort (as the Dagini or Izuna doctrine), fumigation with the mō plant must be a good means of driving it out."

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1. Comp. above p. 108, and TEININ'S enumeration of the Great Tengu of Japan, where we find Naigubu of Takao, Sanjakubō of Akiba and Jirō of Izuna mentioned (Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II).

2. Comp. INOUE l.l. IV, p. 228.

3. 白晨狐王菩薩.

4. 貴狐天王, comp. above p. 42.

5. A note says: "The mō plant is mentioned in the Chinese work *Pen ts'ao kang muh*, 本草綱目; the people call it *shikimi* (illicium religiosum, comp. above p. 99, note 2) and lay it as an offering before the Buddha images."

6. 周禮, Ceremonies of the Cheu dynasty.

7. 蠱 *gu*. About the *ku* sorcery by means of small reptiles and insects comp. DE GROOT, Rel. Syst. V, pp. 826-869.

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The *Inari jinjakō*[1] speaks about Izuna and Dagini in the following way[2]:—"For that reason (namely because three foxes were worshipped in the temple behind that of Inari at Kyōto, and the people had begun to call them the sacred messengers of that divinity) the cult of the Indian fox-god Dagini in later times got gradually mixed up with that of Inari, a terribly unreasonable thing! The heterodox cult of this Dagini seems to have spread rapidly in Japan. We read in the *Montoku jitsuroku*[3], sub dato 852, second month, in the biography of Fujiwara no Takafusa, Lord of Echizen, the following story: 'In spring of Tenchō 4 (827) he was appointed Lord of Mino. There was in the Mushiroda district (of Mino province) a sorceress (妖巫) whose spirit (靈, that is, the spirit which she worshipped) went round from place to place and secretly devoured the hearts of mankind. This special kind of sorcery spread and did much harm to the people. For a long time the officials were afraid of it and did not dare to enter the district. Takafusa, however, went alone on horseback to the place, arrested the entire company of the sorceresses and punished them severely. So the evil was stopped.' These sorceresses probably used the heterodox doctrine of the Dagini, called the 'Devourers of Human Hearts'. The *kuda-mochi*[4] and *ōsaki-tsukai*[5], which are very much feared by the people, and are found in Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc., where they do much harm by means of spook-foxes, must be magic arts which are continuations of that heterodox doctrine of the 'Heart-devourers'. It is strictly forbidden to practice these arts, yet they are still in use."

1. 稻荷神社考, "Reflections on the Inari temple," written in 1836 by SUGAWARA NATSUKAGE, 菅原夏陰, whose own name was MAEDA (前田).

2. Ch. II, p. 26.

3. Written in 878, see above p. 17, note 7; Ch. IV, K.T.K. Vol. III, p. 487.

4. 管持, the keeping of so-called kuda or "pipe-foxes." See below.

5. 大前使, the employment of the osaki or ōsaki-foxes. See below.

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As to these "Heart-devourers" MAEDA gives the following explanation:—"In the *Kokkyōshū*[1] we read: 'The *Dainichi kyō*[2], Ch. IV, explains the matter of Dagini and Shingon. It refers to the work *Emmitsushō*[3], which says: "The Dagini are under the command of the Yakshas, can steal the hearts of men by their magic art, and can devour them. There are two kinds of Dagini, to wit: the 'Real kind' (實類) and 'Those who belong to the Mandara' (漫荼羅衆 or 中). The former are called "Devourers of human hearts" (kanshoku jinshin, 噉食人心). Although they can do miraculous things, are free in their movements and bring good luck to those who worship them, yet their cult is regarded as heterodox. As to the Mandara-Dagini, they are just like Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and therefore devour all the filth of the hearts and cause men to live in Nirvāna."

MAEDA further speaks about the Dagini in Kōbō Daishi's monastery, Tōji. He quotes the *Shūyōshū*[4] where we read: "Kōbō Daishi, on awakening from samādhi (abstract contemplation), taught Bishop Hino-o (槍尾, his pupil) regarding the Yakshas of Tōji. He said: 'In this monastery there are wonderful gods called *Yasha jin*[5] (Yakshas) and *Madara jin*[6], who inform those who believe in them and worship them of coming good luck and calamity. Their shape is as follows: They have three faces and six arms. These three faces are those of three devas; the middle face is gold-coloured, the left one white, the right red. The middle one is Sei Ten (聖天), the left *Dagini*, the right is *Benzai* (辨才).'"

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1. 谷響集, written by the Buddhist priest UNSHŌ, 運敞, who lived 1613-1693. Ch. IX.
2. 大日經.
3. 演密抄.
4. 拾要集, written by SHŪKAKU, 守覺, an Imperial Prince who had become a Buddhist priest, 法親王, and lived 1149-1202.
5. 夜叉神.
6. 摩多羅神.

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The *Tenchō gyoki*[1] says: "In Tōji there are guardian-devas; they are messengers of Inari Myōjin, and are called, 'Messengers with a great Bōdhi heart.'" It may be mentioned that the god of Mount Inari was the principal guardian god of Tōji, and was met by Kōbō Daishi in that neighbourhood in the shape of an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. Thus there was close connection between this divinity and the monastery[2]. According to MAEDA again, in olden times the Dagini cult was very secret; and as the worshippers were afraid to call it openly by its name, they borrowed the name of other gods and called the Dagini "the sacred messengers of Inari", or they gave a Dagini shrine the name of "Temple of Fuku-daijin", the "Great God of Felicity" (福大神)[3], or "Temple of the Holy Woman"[4], in the same way the so-called *Izuna Gongen*, the "Manifestation of Mount Izuna", is none other than the Dagini worshipped on Mount Izuna in Shinano province. As to the image of Dagini Ten, tradition says that the Shingon sect gave it the shape of a female angel, a devī (天女), which corresponds with the white face of the above mentioned image in Tōji. This angel image received, according to MAEDA, the borrowed name of Inari, so that finally Inari was wrongly believed to be a female god. I will explain below what I think about this last question, but the idea that the heterodox Dagini cult was hidden behind other names seems to be very plausible, and I believe with MAEDA that the Dagini and Izuna doctrines are one and the same.

In MIURA KENSŬKE'S[5] Buddhistic dictionary entitled *Bukkyō iroha jiten*[6] we read sub voce *Dagini Ten*: "The Dagini Ten belong to the section of Yakshas. On being

1. 天長御記, "Imperial record of the Tenchō era" (824-33).
2. It was the mountain god, and not the Spirit of the Rice; see below.
3. See above p. 45, the legend in the *Kokonchomonshū*, Ch. VI, p. 312.
4. 聖女社, Seijosha, on Hieizan; *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p 29.
5. 三浦謙助.
6. 佛教いろは字典, 2nd edition, 1904, Vol. II, p. 206.

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tortured by Daikoku Tenjin[1] (Mahākāla), who bestows luck, they are said to have stopped devouring men. The *Shinzoku butsuji hen*[2] states the following: 'These (Dagini) are foxes. In the Mandara they are called Yakshas. They are independent in what they do and quick in their movements. They must be the same as the Japanese Izuna god. Izuna is the name of the place where they are worshipped. A detailed explanation is to be found in the *Kokkyōshū*.[3]' In the Commentary on the *Dainichikyō*[4] we read: 'After having called all the Dagini together by means of his art, he (Mahākāla) scolded them and said: "Because you always devour men, I will now devour you."'" In the same dictionary s.v. *Dai Benten*[5] we read: "When this Deva appears as Dagini Ten, she distributes luck and long life." This corresponds with the above mentioned image of the divinity worshipped in Tōji, whose several faces were those of Sei Ten, Dagini Ten and *Benten*.

In respect to *Izuna* we find in YOSHIDA TŌGO's Geographical Dictionary[6], that according to the *Kiku ichiran*[7] "*Miketsu no kami*" (三狐神, "Three fox-divinities"[8]) are worshipped in the Izuna temple on the top of Mount Izuna in Shinano province, and that according to the explanation by KAIBARA[9] Izuna no kami is the same as Dagini Ten. YOSHIDA quotes also the work *Ōnin kōki*[10], which states that women up to the age of forty years

1. 大黒天神.
2. 眞俗佛事編.
3. See above p. 112, note 1.
4. 大日經疏.
5. Vol. II, p. 211.
6. 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, published in 1907; Vol. II, p. 2400.
7. 奇區一覽, written in 1834 by IDE MICHISADA, 井出道貞, and printed in 1887; the full name of the book is *Shinano kiku shōgai ichiran*, 信濃奇區勝概一覽; it is also called *Shinano kishōroku*, 信濃奇勝錄.
8. Comp. the Miketsu no kami of Mount Inari, see below.
9. The author of the *Yamato Honzō*, see above p. 109.
10. 應仁後記, "History of the time after the Ōnin era (1467-1468)" written by KOBAYASHI, 小林, in 1709.

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were not allowed to approach the temple, and that the magic arts (mahō, 魔法), called the *Izuna* and *Atago* doctrines, were performed by bonzes and yamabushi only after thorough purification and fasting, and that everybody who saw or heard about it felt his hair stand on end for fear. In view of the tradition that Izuna and Atago had one and the same idol or honzon (本尊), YOSHIDA concludes that the Izuna and Atago doctrines were one and the same.

Now we have seen in the treatise on the Tengu[1], that Atago is the principal *Tengu* mountain of Japan, so that, if the same rites are really practiced on Izuna, the author of the above quoted *Matsunoya gwaishū*[2] is right, and the Izuna doctrine is a Tengu cult. This becomes more probable from the fact that one of the peaks of Mount Izuna is called "Tengu no take", or "Tengu peak," which popular tradition reports to be a "devil place" (魔所, masho)[3], and further from ASAKAWA's description of Izuna's image as "a small Tengu standing on a fox".[4] As we noticed in the paper on the Tengu[5], the Japanese confounded the Chinese ideas about Celestial Dogs and foxes (Celestial Foxes as well as ordinary spook-foxes), and we need not be surprised to find the two demons combined, as on Mount Izuna. The fact that Mount Izuna is not mentioned in the Tengu tales seems to indicate that the part played by the Tengu is not regarded as important at this place; but on the other hand we find Jirō of Izuna mentioned in TEININ's list of great Tengu[6]. Apparently the original demon of Mount Izuna was thought to have a fox shape and his cult was afterwards combined with that of a Tengu, as the image proves. The fox became the servant of the Tengu, and was

1. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II.
2. See above p. 108.
3. See YOSHIDA's *Geographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 2400.
4. Above p. 107.
5. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 34 sqq.
6. Ibidem, Ch. II, § 9.

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believed to use his magic power in the service of the worshippers. As to the fox regarded as a servant and riding horse of the demons, we can refer for information to HU SHEN[1], a Chinese author of the Han dynasty, who said: "Foxes are spook-beasts on which the demons ride." Finally the Shingon priests came with their secret Dagini cult and explained the magical rites, practiced on the Izuna mountain, as those of their own Dagini; for the sake of secrecy, however, they called it simply the Izuna doctrine. This seems to me the most national solution of this complicated problem.

As we have seen above[2], Dagini Ten was considered to be a fox, and her doctrine heterodox. Sometimes we find this Deva mentioned as a Bodhisattva sometimes, as a Deva-king, while for the most part she is thought to be a *female* divinity, and to be countless in number instead of only one, just as in the cases of the Yakshas, Garudas and other demons.

Here again, as in the case of the Tengu and the Garudas[3] it is Professor GRÜNWEDEL's excellent work, entitled "*Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*", which gives us full information as to the nature of the mysterious Dagini Ten. Their Sanscrit name is *Dākinī*, and they form a special class of female divinities, whose name in the Tibetan translation means "Air-walker".[4] They are the fourth of the holy beings of the Tibetan Buddhist pantheon, and come immediately after the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas[5]. Their favourite abode is Udyāna, which is, like Kāshmīr, the classical land of *sorcery* and *witchcraft*[6]. Padmasambhava, the great saint, got his *mystic doctrine*, written in an unknown language, from the Dākinīs, and hid the books in caves until mankind should be able to read

1. 許愼.
2. P. 43.
3. Tengu treatise, Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Ch. III.
4. GRÜNWEDEL l.l., p. 24.
5. Ibidem p. 28.
6. Pg. 44.

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them[1]. He was master of all kinds of *magic*, and by practicing meditation in eight cemeteries got supernatural power by exorcising and consecrating several Dākinīs[2]. And because he was the strongest of all who practiced the tantra system, he was summoned by the King of Tibet to conquer the demons who prohibited the spreading of Buddhism in his dominions. He also succeeded in conquering Māra's army of demons, which tried to prevent him from reaching Tibet.[3] When he left that country, the horse Valāha, the "King of Horses", appeared in the clouds, and all Dākinīs came with it, bending their bodies under the horse and surrounding Padmasambhava in great numbers[4]. There are two classes of Dākinīs, namely those "who have already left the world", and those who still live on earth as local divinities. This reminds us of the distinction made by the Shingon sect between the Mandara-Dagini who are on the same level as Nyōrai (Tathāgatas), and the so-called "Real kind" of Dagini.[5] The former class of Dākinīs are represented as naked, dancing women, having chains and crowns of skulls; but they often appear as demons or *animals* to those who worship them, which worship is in order to the obtaining from them of supernatural wisdom. This they possess and, for the benefit of all creatures, communicate in the form of a special consecration to the devotees absorbed in profound meditation. But if they are insulted, they get furious and try to kill the culprit. They suppress the anthropophagous demons who are their subjects[6], and are faithful protectors of Buddhism. As such they lead the mule of Çrīdevī, the great protectress of Buddha's Law, over the sea of blood, which that

1. Pg. 45.
2. Pg. 49.
3. Pg. 54.
4. Pg. 55.
5. Above p. 112.
6. Comp. above p. 111, where the Dagini themselves were mentioned as devourers of men, suppressed by Mahākāla.

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goddess has made by killing numberless demons. As local gods they ride on animals: lions, dragons, gazelles etc.

These facts convince us that there are *many* Dākinis, that they are *female* divinities, and that they bestow supernatural wisdom, that is, knowledge of *magic* art, upon their worshippers. This corresponds well with what we read about Dagini Ten in Japan; but the vulpine shape of the latter is not spoken of in Tibet, nor do we find it mentioned in Chinese books. The only passage where a Chinese king is said to have worshipped Daten in order to ruin the Emperor Yiu Wang by means of the transformed *fox* Pao Sz' is in a *Japanese* work, the *Gempei seisuiki*[1], and we do not find this divinity mentioned even in the legend of Tamamo no mae, who was the same fox in a later existence.[2] So it seems that Dagini's fox shape and fox sorcery in general were limited to Japan.

We saw in GRÜNWEDEL's work that the Dākinī often appear to the devotees in the shape of *animals*, and that those among them who are still living on earth as local divinities, are represented as riding on animals. This may be the key to the problem. For it is possible that the Shingon priests, who introduced the mystic Dākinī cult into Japan, found there already a flourishing fox-sorcery and came to the conclusion that these magical foxes, worshipped on such mountains as Izuna and elsewhere, were nothing but manifestations or servants of the Dākinī. If this is true, the fox-magic is perhaps an original Japanese cult; for it seems that it was not to be found in China, otherwise DE GROOT would have mentioned it where he speaks about the "infliction of evil by means of the soul of a quadruped."[3] And it is not particularly strange that the Japanese fox-sorcery should be independent of foreign influences; for the Inari cult is also an original Japanese fox-worship and a

1. See above p. 43.

2. See above p. 51.

3. *Religious System of China*, Vol. V, pp. 816 sqq., Book II, Part III, Chapter I (Sorcery).

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proof of the importance and of the great power of this animal in the eyes of the primitive Japanese people, long before the importation of Chinese and Buddhistic ideas. Moreover, the dog-magic found in Japan belongs to the same class, and is not mentioned by DE GROOT as prevailing in China. Yet we read in the foresaid chapter of DE GROOT'S work[1]: "Instead of their own souls in an animal shape, sorcerers and sorceresses project the souls of animals for their evil purposes, or perhaps those animals themselves." This is exactly the case in the Japanese fox, dog, and snake-magic, so that we cannot deny that the idea may have been imported from China and then extended in Japan. But it is also possible that it existed already in Japan before the Japanese mind was imbued with Chinese thought; for ethnology has taught us how much the primitive beliefs of the most different peoples resemble one another.

As to the way in which the fox-sorcery is practiced, we have seen in the *Honchō shokkan*[2], written in 1697, that at that time the Izuna sorcerers were said to have foxes in their service whose mothers they had fed during pregnancy, and who came when they (the sorcerers) called them, but were invisible to bystanders. In 1742 the *Rō-ō chawa*[3] gives a similar account. We read there the following: "The Izuna doctrine is practiced by sorcerers who have foxes in their service. First, they purify themselves by fasting, and then go into the mountains to seek fox holes. If they find a pregnant fox, they politely ask her to make her young their child. Night and day they bring her food, and when the little fox is born, the mother takes it to them. Then the sorcerer says to the young fox: 'Henceforth you shall follow me as my shadow.' He gives the young animal a name, and then mother and child go away. From that time the fox always appears immediately when he is

1. Pg. 824.
2. See above p. 99.
3. *Zoku Teikoku Bunko*, Vol. XLVII, p. 362; see above p. 71, note 1.

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called by name by the sorcerer, and tells him all kinds of secret things, the knowledge of which gives him among the people the reputation of being a divine man. But if such a fox-sorcerer becomes in the smallest degree lewd or greedy, he cannot exercise his art any longer, for the fox does not come again." In the same work we find a story about a samurai, who understood the Izuna doctrine, and came to an inn where the daughter of the house was possessed by a fox. The animal had already predicted the arrival of the samurai and its own death through the mouth of the girl. The sorcerer cut the girl into two pieces with his sword and lo! the next morning it appeared to be a dead fox and the girl herself was sleeping quietly in a hidden corner of the house.[1]

Ise Teijō[2] gives the following: "The people of to-day (eighteenth century) call magical arts or sorcery *mahō-tsukai*[3], 'using demoniacal doctrines', or *gehō tsukai*[4], 'using heterodox doctrines', or '*Izuna-tsukai.*' This is not an orthodox doctrine, but heterodox sorcery, by means of which the eyes of the people are blinded and they are deceived. It is what in China is called '*senjutsu*, 仙術, magic art of the Sien,' and there the persons who practice it are called *dōshi*, 道士 (the Japanese yamabushi). Buddhist priests also borrow this sorcery in order to use it as an ornament of their religion, calling the wonderful results they obtain by it the effect of Buddha's power, and converting the people to Buddhism in this way. In recent years a priest of the Nichiren sect, who used a fox, caused the animal to possess persons simply in order to drive it out again by means of his prayers. Thus he got the name of being a miracle worker and made a living in this way, but he was arrested by the authorities and banished."

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1. Ibidem p. 363.

1. 伊勢貞丈, who lived 1715-1784; in his *Ise mampitsu*, 伊勢萬筆, Ch. 即位.

2. 魔法使.

3. 外法使.

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The same author speaks in another book[1] about the dog-sorcery in Tosa province, which has much resemblance to fox-sorcery except that the dog-god, "inu-gami"[2], is the spirit of a *dead* dog, while the fox-god is that of a *living* fox. As in the case of fox-sorcery, so dog-magic is in the hands of special families, which have no intercourse with other people and do not intermarry with them. For they are hated and feared, as they make the dog-god possess people and speak by their mouth, ordering them to send food or clothes or other things to the sorcerer who uses him. "But if one carries a *fox tooth* in his pocket, the dog-god cannot possess him, and if one goes to the house of a person, who is possessed by a dog-god, carrying a fox tooth in his pocket, the dog-god goes out of the patient at once. As there are no foxes in Shikoku, it is said that there are people who keep a fox tooth bought in another province. Further, it is said that, if one's forefather has used a dog-god, the latter is transferred to his children and grandchildren and does not leave the family. Moreover, the *snake-god* (蛇神, hebi-gami) belongs to the same class as the dog-god, and is said to bestow wealth upon the families of those who use him."

In the *Kanden kōhitsu*[3], which was written in 1799, we read the following:—"In the neighbourhood of Izumo and Hōki provinces there is the so-called *kitsune-mochi* (狐持, "fox-keeping"). The custom is so general there, that people ask one another how many foxes they possess. If one is on bad terms with somebody, he causes him to be possessed and haunted by a fox, just as do those who practice the *inugami-tsukai* (employment of dog-gods, in Kyūshū). Thus they are very powerful enemies."

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1. 舳艫訓, *Jikuro kun*, Ch. III, p. 10. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 sqq.

2. 犬神, comp. ASTON, *Shinto*, p. 332.

3. 閑田耕筆, see above p. 81, note 2; Ch. II, p. 55.

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The author of the *Reijū zakki*[1] (written after 1839) is in doubt whether or not the *kudamochi* and *ōsaki-tsukai*[2] existed in the earliest times, and refers to the *Fusō ryakki* and *Yasutomi ki*, where we read about the foxes exorcised by the abbot Sō-ō[3] and used by the Court physician Takama.[4]

As for MAEDA, the author of the *Inari jinjakō* (1836), his opinion, which we have given above[5], is that the kuda-mochi and osaki-tsukai of Kōzuke, Shinano, Izumo etc. must be survivals of the Dagini doctrine.

The *Shōsan chomon kishū*[6], written in 1849, speaks about the so-called *kuda* (管, pipe), well-known in the province of *Shinano* as a spook-beast. "It does not show itself to human eyes. From generation to generation it remains in the same families, the members of which have no intercourse with others and have an extraordinary aversion to marriage. As to the *kuda-gitsune* (管 狐, 'pipe-fox'), to be found in Sanshū and Enshū (Mikawa and Tōtōmi provinces), this is such a small animal, that it can be put into a pipe, hence the name 'pipe-fox'; it is a fox of the size of a rat."

In the *Zenan zuihitsu*[7] we read the following: "The *hiko* (狒狐), also called *reiko* (靈狐, spiritual foxes) mentioned in Chinese books, are old spook-foxes, resembling black cats; in Japan they are called *kwanko* (管狐, that is, 'kuda-gitsune', 'pipe-foxes'). They have about the same size as weasels or rats, and vertical eyes; for the rest they are just like field foxes, except that their hair is thinner. Those who have these *kwanko* in their service hold in the hand a bamboo pipe, a little shorter than the bamboo instrument by means of which

1. See above p. 109.
2. 苦陀持, "the keeping of kuda", and 大前使, "the employment of osaki".
3. Above p. 35.
4. Above p. 50.
5. Pg. 111.
6. See above p. 92.
7. 善庵隨筆, written by ASAKAWA ZENAN, 朝川善庵, who died in 1853. Hyakka setsurin, Vol. 正上 (I), p. 674.

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the fire in the furnace is blown, and they recite a magical formula, whereupon the fox suddenly appears in the pipe and answers all questions asked of it one by one. It is said that originally a yamabushi, after the pure and careful practice of asceticism got this magic art from *Kimpusen* (that is, from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen, 金峯山[1]). These foxes are numerous in the neighbourhood of the Northern mountains of Suruga, Tōtōmi and Mikawa provinces. As for the eight provinces of Kwantō, they are mostly in Kōzuke and Shimozuke. In Osaki[2] village, Kōzuke province, there is in the whole village not one family that does not keep such foxes. For this reason they are also called 'osaki-gitsune.' But according to the work *Kōchiroku*[3], it is *Ōsaki* (大前) in Musashi province. I do not know which of the two is true. The so-called *ki-ko* (氣狐, spirit-foxes, of the Chinese books) are nowadays the wild foxes which deceive mankind and cause a curse; they possess men and ask for food through their mouths. They are also the osaki-foxes, which yamabushi have in their service. As to the 'air-foxes' (kū-ko, 空狐), these are Tengu." The tradition that sorcery by means of pipe-foxes came from the *Tengu* of Kimpusen is significant, if we compare it with what was said above[4] about Izuna and the Tengu.

INOUE ENRYŌ gives in his *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*[5] a great number of interesting details on the employment of magical foxes. He quotes an article of the *Dai Nihon kyōiku shimbun*[6], where we read[7]: "In Ina, Shinano province, there is a creature called *kwanko*, 'pipe-fox.' Its size is about that of a mouse, its tail is like a pipe, cut in two; hence the name 'pipe-fox.' Although it is a very small beast, its shape is said

1. Comp. Transactions, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*the Tengu*", Ch. II, § 9.
2. 尾崎.
3. 狐鷺錄, written in 1627-1630 by MIYAKE SHŌSAI, 三宅尚齋, who wrote it in prison with his blood.
4. Pg. 115.
5. Third edition (1897), Vol. IV, pp. 180 sqq.
6. 大日本教育新聞, "Educational newspaper of Great Japan."
7. Pg. 193.

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to resemble that of a fox. Oral tradition says that this pipe-fox was originally borrowed from the Inari of Fushimi in Yamashiro province, and that it was a picture of a little fox in a shrine. When the time came to take it back to Fushimi, the priests of Inari sealed it up as a very precious thing, but what condition it is in now we do not know. It is a fact, however, that the pipe-fox exists. It is a very quick and intelligent beast, and if tamed is inseparable from its master and lives in his pocket or sleeve. These foxes examine into all kinds of things and tell what they discover over and over again to their master, so that those who keep them are said to be able to explain the past and predict the future of other people. Those who practice the so-called *kitsune-tsukai* keep this pipe-fox in their bosoms; the fox climbs up to the ear, and what it says is communicated to others. Such persons are said to explain and predict the past and future of men remarkably well. A pipe-fox shows itself only to its master, not to others. But those who keep such foxes can be recognized by the special smell which hangs about them."

After having referred to the principal Chinese books, mentioned above, and to some of the older and later Japanese works, INOUE quotes from more recent information, sent to him from here and there about the country, and found in newspapers, on the subject of the haunting of foxes and tanuki in general, and of the *employment of foxes* by people. A man from Gumma prefecture, Kōzuke province, wrote that the people in the neighbourhood of Mount Chichibu in Musashi are always inclined to consider every strange thing that happens the work of foxes or tanuki. If rice or silkworms have been stolen, or a stone falls suddenly, or something moves or totters in a queer sort of way, it is all ascribed to these animals. A queer sound, as if sand were falling, which was heard in an inn where they kept many *osaki-gitsune*, was believed to be caused by a lot of invisible foxes that were passing by, and the same animals sprinkled some boys with ashes in the night. Another per-

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son saw a tea-kettle lifted up to the ceiling by an invisible hand.[1] Once a man bought fuel in a shop, but when he got home, its weight was only half what it had been. Of course, an osaki-fox, kept in the shop, had pulled the weight of the balance down in order to deceive the buyer and for the advantage of the shopkeeper. Another time a lot of cakes were stolen from a shop night after night, and found next morning in a house near by. All these things happened in houses where osaki-foxes were kept. In the same part of the country many rich families became bankrupt, quite without reason, and all within a few months, and other families, that were rather poor, attained with the same rapidity to great wealth. According to popular opinion this was the work of osaki-foxes, which secretly carried money and grain and furniture etc. from the houses in decline to those whose star was in the ascendant. The osaki-fox is smaller than the ordinary fox and looks exactly like a rat. It is also said to multiply as rapidly as rats. The families that keep them are called "shippo", and if the members of such families marry, the osaki-foxes are said to follow them. Although there are people who dislike marrying some one belonging to a shippo family, yet nowadays more than half of all the families in that region are said to be shippo. But since the osaki-foxes cannot pass the Tonegawa, no mention is made of them in Kōzuke province.[2]

A man from the province of *Shinano* writes[3]: "There is perhaps no part of the country where fox-possession is so common as at Kiso (a mountain in Shinano). The so-called *osaki* or *konkon* families are as much detested there as are the families of lepers. Not only do people not intermarry with them, but formerly they were often driven away by violence. Although nowadays this does not happen, yet these families

1. Comp. the paper and pencil in the tanuki story above p. 91.

2. This is not in keeping with the words of ASAKAWA ZENAN (above p. 123) who says that most of these foxes are found in Kōzuke and Shimozuke.

3. INOUE l.l. IV, p. 218.

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have still to struggle against all kinds of hindrances and prejudices in their intercourse with others. The so-called *osaki* (persons possessed by osaki-foxes) are mostly girls, seldom boys. At ordinary times their words and deeds do not differ from those of other persons, but when they are possessed, they enter the houses of other people and tell secrets without scruple. Sometimes they speak with fox voices and walk on all fours. As a rule they go to certain particular houses, never to those of respectable people. If such a possessed person enters the shop of a breeder of silkworms, he does injury to the cocoons, and if he comes into a house where somebody is ill, he annoys the patient or possesses him; and sometimes he does the same with one who is healthy. Those who become possessed in this way enter people's houses and trumpet forth the secrets of others in their turn. Everybody dislikes the osaki, because they are said to bring calamity upon the houses they enter. Although this kind of mental disease can be cured in an hour, yet a relapse is generally unavoidable. Its being hereditary, descending from parents to children and grandchildren, makes it still more detestable."

According to information from Shimane prefecture (Iwami and Izumo provinces) the so-called *jinko-mochi* (人狐持, "man-fox-keeping") is practiced by families which have *jinko*, man-foxes, in their service. Nobody likes to marry a member of such a family. These jinko are smaller than ordinary foxes, resemble weasels and always live in private houses. Those who keep these animals are said to make them possess persons whom they detest. The words and deeds of the persons so possessed are very strange. They ask, for example, for azuki-meshi (rice and red pea-beans mixed), tōfu-juice (bean curd) and tai fish laid in miso (sauce made of wheat, beans and salt), and after having eaten very greedily the possessing fox demands through the mouth of the patient a piece of ground belonging to the family of the latter (in behalf of the fox keeper), menacing the life of the patient if it is refused. But if

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one seizes the patient saying, "Then I will first kill you with a needle and moxa," and rubs his stomach and is about to stick a needle into any hard spot he finds, or burns moxa upon it, the fox begins invariably to supplicate, "Let me loose; I will go away immediately, just leave me alone for a moment." And then as soon as the patient is free, he opens the window, utters a plaintive cry and falls down on the floor. It is only after having undergone this treatment that he can come to his senses and be cured. This is the case with everyone possessed by a fox. As more than half of the people of this province (Izumo) belong to such "jinko-mochi" families, it becomes more and more difficult for a son or daughter of a correct (respectable, non-fox-using) family to find a wife or husband, disliking as they do marriage with any member of a jinko-mochi family.

In CHAMBERLAIN'S *Things Japanese*[1] we find an interesting résumé of Dr. BAELZ'S remarks on fox-possession, and an extract from the Nichi-Nichi Shimbun of the 14th August, 1891, about the man-foxes in Izumo province. We there read: "It should be noticed, moreover, that there are permanent fox-owners and temporary fox-owners. The permanent fox-owners silently search for families of a similar nature to marry into, and can never on any account intermarry with outsiders, whatever may be the inducement in the shape of wealth or beauty. Their situation closely resembles that of the pariahs and outcasts of former times. But even the strictest rules will sometimes be broken through by love which is a thing apart, and liaisons will be formed between fox-owners and outsiders. When such an irremediable misfortune takes place, parents will renounce even their well-beloved only son, and forbid him to cross the threshold for the rest of his life. Temporary fox-owners are those who have been expelled from the family for buying land from a permanent fox-owner. These circumstances conspire

1. Fourth edition (1902), pp. 113 sqq., s.v. Demoniacal Possession.

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to give security to the fox-owners (whether such in truth or imagination, we are not in a position to say); for no one will harm them by so much as a hair's breadth. Therefore they are all well-to-do; some are even said to count among the most affluent families in the province. The very poorest people that have borrowed money from them will strain every nerve to raise money to repay the loan, because failure to do so would make others regard them as fox-owners and shun them. The result of all this is that a nervous malady resembling possession is much commoner is this province than elsewhere, and that Dr. Shimamura, during his tour of inspection there this summer, has come across no less than thirty-one cases of it."

WESTON[1], quoted by ASTON[2] says the following: "Amongst the ordinary diviners is one called *kitsune-tsukai*, i.e. a fox-possessor. The divination is carried on by means of a small image of a fox, made in a very odd way. A fox is buried alive in a hole with its head left free. Food of the sort of which foxes are known to be most fond is placed just beyond the animal's reach. As days pass by the poor beast in its dying agony of hunger makes frantic efforts to reach the food; but in vain. At the moment of death the spirit of the fox is supposed to pass into the food, which is then mixed with a quantity of clay, and shaped into the form of the animal. Armed with this extraordinary object, the *miko* is supposed to become an infallible guide to foretelling future events of every kind."

This kind of fox-sorcery is mentioned nowhere else; WESTON probably mistook *dog*-sorcery for fox-magic. MOTOORI, quoted by ASTON[3], describes the *inu-gami* as follows: "A hungry dog is tied up in sight of food which he is not allowed to eat. When his desire is keenest, his head is

1. *Mountaineering in the Japanese Alps*, p. 307.

2. *Shinto*, p. 344.

3. *Shinto*, p. 332. Cf. my treatise on "*The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*," Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, Ch. IV, pp. 63 seqq.

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cut off and at once flies to seize the food. This head is put into a vessel and worshipped. A serpent or a weasel will do as well."

On comparing the above quoted passages on the employment of magical foxes we see two centers of this form of witchcraft, namely, in the East: Shinano, Kōzuke, Shimozuke, Musashi, Mikawa and Tōtōmi; and in the West: Izumo and Hōki. Of these Shinano, Kōzuke and Izumo are the most important.

CHAPTER V.

Inari, the fox-shaped Spirit of the Rice.

First, we have seen the fox as an omen, sometimes of luck, but mostly of calamity; then as a demon, haunting and possessing men; thereupon as a magical instrument of sorcerers, the servant of Tengu and men; and finally we will treat of his best and most important function, in the exercise of which he appears as a *god* or the *sacred messenger* of a divinity, namely as *Inari* herself or her servant.

As we have already stated in the beginning of this paper[1], we are here wholly on Japanese territory; no Chinese influence, no Indian god is in the background. Thus we have only to do with the Japanese texts, and we have no need to fear the troublesome mixture of foreign and native ideas which makes the study of Japanese folklore so very complicated and difficult. First of all we will review the passages which speak of foxes, worshipped as *gods*.

We read about a fox-god for the first time in the *O-u-ki*, which relates how in 1031 the Saigū at Ise was possessed by a god (namely a fox) who spoke through her and compelled her

1. See above p. 2.

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to build two Shintō temples and to order frantic dances to be performed in his honour. Then the sorceresses of the capital followed the example given by the Imperial Princess, and began to worship the fox whom they called "the great divinity of Ise".[1]

The *Sankaiki* stated that in the 11th and 12th centuries the killing of a fox was considered to be as great a crime as the killing of a *divine spirit* (神靈), and that the Emperor banished in 1072 a member of the Fujiwara Family for having killed a spirit-fox (reiko, 靈狐) at the palace of the Saigū at Ise.[2]

Bishop JI-EN wrote at the end of the 12th century that foxes as well as Tengu already in remote times liked to be worshipped as gods.[3]

The *Zoku kojidan* (13th century) relates how in olden times a fox was killed in the neighbourhood of a temple of a fox-shaped god, and the Court nobles deliberated as to whether it was a crime or not.[4]

The *Ainōshō* (1446) thinks that "the female gods in the temples in which foxes are worshipped are perhaps called myōbu after the palace ladies."[5]

In the *Shinchomonshū* (1683) we read that a small Inari shrine was built for a man who had become a fox[6], and that the divinity of the Inari shrine in the compound of the Lord of Tsushima appeared to the magnate in a dream in the shape of a fox.[7]

The *Honchō koji inenshū*[8] tells a legend of a fox who appeared in the Keichō era (1596-1614) and said that he was a

1. See above p. 25.
2. See above p. 37.
3. See the *Gukwanshō*, above p. 40.
4. See above p. 49.
5. See above p. 55.
6. See above p. 62.
7. See above p. 63.
8. See above p. 67.

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messenger of Inari, who gave him the rank of "Kiko Myōjin"[1], the "Brilliant God, the Venerable Fox" (the Shintō name of the Deva-King mentioned in the *Gempei seisuiki*.[2])

In the *Sanshū kidan* (1764) a fox says through a possessed person: "I am the fox worshipped in Kunai's house (in an Inari shrine); if you take me to a special hall of the temple of Sannō I will always be a tutelary god." When the command had been obeyed, a light appeared in the night to show the divine power of the god, and thenceforth the country was protected by him.[3] The same book mentions a fox whose spirit after death was worshipped in a shrine, erected over his grave, and in whose honour a yearly festival was celebrated by a priest of Inari.[4]

The *Kanden kōhitsu* (1799) tells of a fox who was the guardian god of a Buddhist temple and protected the temple as well as the priest; and of how the same fox god gave oral and written oracles.[5]

Also in the nineteenth century and nowadays foxes were and are worshipped in little shrines under the name of Inari. All these foxes are thought to be dependent on the Inari of Kyōto, but are also themselves called Inari. Two white foxes are sitting before these shrines, one on each side of the entrance; this means apparently that the goddess herself is within the shrine, invisible, while her messengers are guarding the entrance. We have to do here with a mixture of ideas. On one hand the goddess is a fox, on the other hand the fox is her *sacred messenger*.

Curiously enough we do not find Inari's name in the above quoted passages on foxes before the *seventeenth* century. Then the foxes, mostly white ones, all at once appeared as Inari's

1. 貴狐明神.
2. See above p. 42.
3. See above p. 75.
4. See above p. 76.
5. See above pp. 81 sq.

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servants, who produced light for use at her festivals[1], gave medicine, prepared by the goddess, to a man who had saved their child[2], were said to have appeared in olden times on the sword of Teishinkō in order to show that Inari was entrusted with the Palace watch[3], came out of Inari's temple at Kyōto and changed a man into a fox[4], and so on. The name "messenger of Inari" we read for the first time in the *Honchō shokkan* (1697)[5], which also states that already in olden times everywhere fox-gods were worshipped under the name of Inari and were believed to bestow luck and to protect people against calamity. The same facts were related by the *Wakan sansaizue* (1713)[6]. After that time the expression "sacred messenger of Inari" appeared very often.

With respect to Inari's origin we read the following in the *Yamashiro no kuni no fudoki*[7]:—"As to Inari (伊奈利), Irogu no Hada no kimi, the ancestor of the Hada no Nakatsue no imiki House, possessed a great quantity of rice and was very rich. He made a rice cake (mochi) and used it as a target, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the top of a mountain. (This bird) produced young (生子) and at last gave its name to a temple. The descendants of that man (who had used a rice cake as a target) regretted the sin of their ancestor, took a tree out of the temple ground, planted it in their garden and worshipped it. If the tree grew well, the worshippers got wealth, but if the tree withered, they did not become rich men."

The above quoted text is somewhat corrupt. The sentence "produced young and at last gave its name to a temple," or "at

1. See above p. 59.
2. See above p. 60.
3. See above p. 61.
4. See above p. 62.
5. See above p. 99.
6. See above p. 101.
7. 山城國風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Yamato province," which dates from about 730-750.

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last it became a temple"[1], is not clear. FLORENZ[2] translates: "There (that is, on the top of the mountain) rice halms sprung up, and at last the name of the temple proceeded therefrom" (that is, Inari, from ine, rice plant). Although this is only a hypothetical translation, yet the meaning of the myth is quite clear, namely that the divinity worshipped on Mount Inari near Kyōto is the *Spirit of the Rice* itself.

The *Bungo fudoki*[3] says: "Tano (田野, 'the Rice-field moor,' in the Southwest of this district) is a broad and fertile land, to which no other land can be compared. In olden times there were peasants there who cultivated large rice fields and had so much rice that they became very rich and luxurious. Thus they once made a target from rice-cake, but the target changed into a white bird and flew away to the South. In the same year all the peasants died, so that the rice fields were no longer cultivated and lay fallow and wild. Afterwards no rice would grow there (in consequence of the curse of the Rice goddess). Therefore the moor is called 'Rice-field moor.'"

Another writing, the *Inarisha Tenryaku no kamon*[4] says: "Inari appeared for the first time in the Wadō era (708-714) on level places on three peaks of Mount Inari. At these spots the ancestor of the Hada family, Naka-ie, tore out the trees and planted nurae (蘇, sacred thyme); members of the same family became priests and celebrated there (without temples) the spring and autumn festivals. As the prayers were very efficacious, the Emperor sent offerings at special times. Afterwards, in the

1. Comp. the quotation of this passage in the *Engishiki jimmeichō tōchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, Nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809.

2. Japanische Mythologie, p. 293: "Da reiften und wuchsen Reishalme [auf dem Gipfel]. Schliesslich ist daraus der Name des Tempels geworden."

3. 豊後風土記, "Record of the characteristics of Bungo province," which dates from 713, when the Emperor gave orders to write down all the names of places, mountains, rivers, as well as the customs and traditions. Chapter on Hayami district.

4. 稻荷社天暦勘文, "Report to the Emperor about the Inari temple" in the Tenryaku era (947-956).

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eighth year of the Engi era (908), Fujiwara no Ason (that is, Tokihira) built the three temples (which are on the mountain)."

These three temples are also mentioned in the *Engishiki* (927), in the "Register of names of the gods"[1]: "Three temples of Inari (稻荷) in Kii district, Yamashiro province."

And from the Commentary thereon[2] we learn that the divinity of the main temple on Mount Inari is *Uga no Mitama no kami*, "the Spirit of the Rice in the Store-houses"[3], while the second shrine is dedicated to Susanoo[4], her father, and the third one to Ō-ichi-bime[5], her mother. The author says: "Uga no mitama is the sower of all cereals; therefore perhaps she is called Inari".

MAEDA who quotes the above mentioned passages in his *Inari jinja kō*[6], remarks that all the other Inari temples in the country find their origin in these three temples on Inari yama; some of them may have been shrines of Uga no mitama in olden times and afterwards have gotten the name of Inari temples in imitation of that on Mount Inari. He also speaks of the so-called "Shirushi no sugi", 驗杉, the "Cryptomeria of the Efficacy of prayer", which once stood by the middle temple on Mount Inari. In the Middle-Ages pilgrims took a twig from that tree home, and if it withered, they considered this a sign that their prayers were not heard; but if otherwise, they were sure of the efficacy of the pilgrimage.[7]

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1. 神名帳, Jimmeichō, K. T. K. XIII, p. 285.

2. *Engishiki jimmeichō tōchū*, 延喜式神名帳頭註, Gunsho ruijū, nr 23, Vol. I, p. 809, written by URABE KANETOMO, 卜部兼俱, in 1446.

3. 倉稻魂神. *Uga* or *uka* means food, provisions, and is to be found in a slightly different form in the names of the goddesses Ukemochi and Toyo-uke-bime. It is mostly written with the characters indicating "store-house" and "Rice", "the Rice in the Store-houses", but also phonetically by means of the characters 宇迦 or 宇賀.

4. 素盞嗚.

5. 大市姬.

6. Written in 1836, see above p. 111, Ch. I, pp. 1-7.

7. Ch, I, p. 27. I. Cf above p. 132.

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As well in the old legends about the origin of the temples on Inari yama as in the custom and belief of the pilgrims in the Middle-Ages, we find the cult of a *tree spirit* mixed up with the worship of Inari. Also afterwards the felling of Inari's sacred trees was severely punished by the goddess, as we have seen above.[1] But of a *fox* cult as such we nowhere read in the old books. Yet there was an old fox-temple on Mount Inari, as we have seen above[2], where we treated of the name "myōbu."

But before I speak regarding the connection between Inari and the fox, I will devote some space to the question of Inari's anthropomorphic shape. MAEDA[3] defends his opinion as to the *male* sex of Inari by saying that *Dagini*, the *female* fox-god, who was called "the sacred messenger of Inari" for fear of pronouncing her real name, was gradually wrongly considered as Inari herself, so that Inari was mistaken for a female divinity. So she was said to have appeared as a woman in a dream of the high-priest Taichō (619-705), saying that her original shape (hontai, 本躰) was Kwannon[4], and in 930 the priest Teisō saw her in a dream in female shape, when she informed him of the great power of the Dai Hannya kyō or "Great Nirvāna sūtra"[5]. In the *Genkō Shakusho* [6] we read that Inari appeared to Kanshun, a priest of Hieizan, who lived under the Emperor Go Reizei (1045-1068), in the shape of a woman, and bestowed luck upon him. MAEDA asserts that the reason why Inari was described as a female divinity in all these legends was not because Uga no mitama is the same as Toyo-uke-bime no mikoto[7], for that is in his opinion a different Uga no mitama from the divinity of that name who is identical with Inari. Also Ukemochi, the Food

1. Pg. 76, in the *Sanshū kidan*, 1764.
2. Pg. 56.
3. Ch. II, p. 27 a.
4. *Honchō shinsen den*, 本朝神仙傳, in Taichō's biography.
5. *Kokonchomonshū*, Ch. I, K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 160.
6. 元亨釋書, before 1346, Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. XIV, p. 712.
7. 豊受姫命 (*Kojiki*, Ch. V, K.T.K. VII, p. 14), the goddess of the Outer Temple (Gegū) at Ise, comp. FLORENZ, *Japanische Mythologie*, p. 39, note 3.

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goddess, from whom after her death besides beans, barley, wheat etc. the rice also was born[1], is different from Inari.

In the old legend of Kōbō Daishi meeting Inari, the divinity is an old man with a rice bundle on his shoulder. MAEDA[2] thinks that this legend was caused by the images, representing the Rice god in that shape. As to the temple, he believes that the inner shrine had originally the name Inari, and that afterwards the upper and lower temples both got the same name, as well as the mountain itself.

In my opinion MAEDA's whole conception of the matter is wrong. It is a very common facat that Japanese gods are called after the place where they are worshipped. So Mount Inari probably gave its name to the divinity whose temple was there, namely *Uga no mitama*, the Spirit of the Rice. The three shrines which were already on the mountain at the time of the *Engishiki* (927) were dedicated to three different gods, but got altogether the name of "Temples of Inari," that is "Temples of Mount Inari." Probably there was much highland rice on the mountain, or it was surrounded by rice fields, which caused it to be called Inari, "Rice-man"[3], or something of the kind. For the same reason (namely, that there was so much rice on or around the mountain) it was especially the "Spirit of the Rice" who was worshipped there.

As to the sex of Inari, it is true that Uga no mitama's sex is not mentioned in the *Nihongi*,[4] where we simply read: "According to one book, in a time of famine Izanagi and Izanami begot the "Spirit of the Rice in the store-houses", "Uga no mitama." Nor does the *Kojiki*[5] say anything about this divinity, other than that it was a child of Susanoo and Ōyama-tsumi

1. *Nihongi*, Ch. I, K.T.K. I, p. 20; *Kojiki*, Ch. IX, K.T.K. VII, p. 28.
2. Ch. II, p. 5 a.
3. From *ine* and the suffix *ri*, which FLORENZ, Jap. Mythologie, p. 292, note 9, explains as *man*, as in hitori, futari, etc.
4. Ch. I, K. T. K. Vol. I, p. 12, comp. p. 16.
5. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 31.

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no kami's daughter Ō-ichi-bime. In one legend, that of Kōbō Daishi meeting the old man, the Rice divinity is a male, in all others it is a female. I think it wrong to say that in all these legends Dagini Ten, the female fox-god, is confounded with Inari, the male Rice-god, and that only Kōbō Daishi's story is true and derives its origin from the images, representing Inari as an old man with a rice bundle. To me it does not seem probable that the cult of the magical Dākini, which secretly spread throughout Japan, hiding itself behind other names, can have had such an influence on the cult of the Spirit of the Rice (which had nothing to do with sorcery), that it even could change the sex of the Rice-god. It is much more logical that the old man, whom Kōbō Daishi met, was the genius of the mountain Inari itself, who called himself "Rice-man" after the mountain which he represented, and carried a bundle of the rice which was so abundant on or about its slopes. The *Inari chinza yūrai*[1] actually says that the old man was the god of the mountain, and that he lived in a hut at its foot, cultivating the rice-fields in the day-time and chopping up fuel at night, and further that his name was Ryūzuda[2]. This mountain-god was quite different from the Spirit of the Rice, worshipped in one of the temples situated within his territory, and in this way we find an easy explanation of the difference of sex between the two gods. Moreover, *Ukemochi*, who gave birth to the rice, beans etc, as well as *Toyo-uke-bime*, who was identified with Uga no mitama, are both *female* gods, and what is more natural than that the Rice, which protects mankind against famine as a mother her children, is thought to be a divine woman? Finally, it is a female spirit which is thought to live in and keep watch over the corn in Europe and the rice in India, as we see in FRAZER'S *Golden Bough*[3], where the so-called "Corn-mother"

1. 稻荷鎭座由來, written in 1386 by the Buddhist priest Yū-nen, 融然; *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, Vol. II, ch. XXXIII, p. 167.

2. 龍頭太.

3. Second edition, Vol. II, pp. 168 sqq. and 198.

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of Europe and the "Mother of the Rice" of Java and Sumatra are dealt with. On comparing all these facts one with another we can be sure that the Japanese Spirit of the Rice was also a female being.

But what about the *fox-cult*, which we find so closely connected with Inari's worship? The *Wakun no shiori*[1] says: "As to the fact that the fox is called the 'sacred messenger of Inari', we read in the *Ise chinza ki*[2]: 'Uga no mitama no kami is also called Tōme miketsu no kami'[3]. That is the reason why the fox is called Inari's messenger. For although *Mikitsu* (三狐, litt. 'three foxes') means *Mi-ketsu* (御饌津, 'August Food-provider') (and has nothing to do with foxes), yet people (thinking that the meaning of the name was 'three foxes') began to worship foxes as gods and to pray to them for luck, and this soon became the fashion."

In the *Kanden kōhitsu*[4] we read the following:—"Nowhere in the old books is the fox mentioned as the female messenger of Inari. In some books Inari is called *Miketsu* (御食津, 'August Food'), which was written by some writers, 三狐, 'Three Foxes'. The word fox is not only *kitsune*, but also *kutsune* and *ketsune*. In country districts it is mostly pronounced *ketsune*, but the old pronunciation seems to have been *kutsune*. I cannot find out in which book Miketsu is spoken of. At the foot of the mountain on which the temple of Inari (稻生) is situated (that is, Mount Inari), we find nowadays the Shinguden (神供殿), where five Shintō gods are worshipped together.[5] In front of this temple are koma-inu (狛犬, 'Korean dogs').

1. 和訓栞, written before 1776, see above p. 56, note 3.

2. 伊勢鎭座記, "Records of the abodes of the gods at Ise," one of the *Shintō gobusho*, 神道五部書, "Five books on Shintō," K. T. K. Vol. VII, p. 438, comp. p. 441.

3. 專女三狐神. *Tōme* is an old word for fox, comp. above pp. 55 sq.

4. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799, see above p. 81, note 2; Hyakka setsurin, Vol. V., pp. 71 sq., Ch. III.

5. Comp. *Wakan sansai zue* (1713), Ch. LXXII, p. 1199: those five gods are: Uga no mitama, Chichi no oya, Oyama zumi, Izanagi and Izanami.

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But at the temple on the top of this mountain, where three gods are worshipped,[1] *white foxes* take the place of the Korean dogs. This has its origin in the reading *Miketsu* (三狐, 'Three Foxes'), and therefore not only do the people think that the fox is the female messenger of Inari, but the foxes themselves must have thought so too. For from all provinces the so-called *ban-gitsune* (番狐, 'watch-foxes') come to this mountain (Inari-yama) and live there in holes, mostly male and female together. When the latter becomes pregnant, she gives birth to her young in a special hole (in order to keep the other hole clean) and takes them away to some other place, for on the mountain itself only the couple live. When the year of their watch has come to an end, they seem to give way to others. Sometimes country people come and say: 'Mr. Fox (Kitsune dono) of our village has come here to keep watch. Where is he? We should like to meet him.' Then one of the priests shows them the hole. I did not know personally any of these details, but the priests of the temple (of Inari) told me of them. Besides these watch-foxes there are no wild foxes at all on the mountain. When a person possessed by a fox is taken to this temple, it is said that the possessing fox is very much frightened and is certain to go out of the patient. As well in the capital as in the country those who have something to ask of a fox, or who wish to build a shrine to a fox, calling it an Inari shrine, all go to the houses of the priests (of Inari at Kyōto) and ask for a 'shrine establishing seal'.[2] How it was in olden times I do not know, but nowadays the Inari temple at Kyōto is certainly the main temple of the foxes."

The *Inari jinjakō*[3] says: "Nowadays (1836) the temple on the hill behind the Inari temple is called the Upper Temple

1. According to the *Wakan sansai zue*, l.l.: Izanagi, Izanami and Uga no mitama.

2. 勧請の璽, that is, a shintai or "god-body" to be placed in the new shrine.

3. Ch. II, p. 25 a.

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(Ue no sha, 上社). Formerly this temple was named *Tōme no sha*,[1] or *Myōbusha*,[2] and three fox-gods were worshipped there. As those three foxes lived a very long time in the neighbourhood of the Inari temple and did strange things, the people soon began to call them 'the sacred messengers of Inari', and worshipped them together in one temple. Afterwards for the same reason the Indian fox-god Dagini was confounded with Inari. A terribly unreasonable thing!"

As we have seen above[3], the author of the *Reijū zakki* seeks the origin of the word "tōme" for fox in the name of this fox temple. But in reality it was just the opposite, and the name of the temple was "Fox shrine." As to the word *myōbu*, which means "Court-lady"[4], this seems to indicate that the three foxes worshipped in the shrine were female fox-gods that had got the fifth rank from the Emperor, like the cat in the *Makura no sōshi* (1000), upon which the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) bestowed that rank and the name "Myōbu no Omoto"[5]. We have also seen that one of the three foxes, named *Akomachi* (阿小町), was said to have got the title myōbu from a Court-lady herself[6]. About this Akomachi we read in FUJIWARA NO AKIHIRA'S book *Shinsarugaku no ki*[7], where "Akomachi of Inari yama" is mentioned together with "Iga tōme," the "Fox of Iga province"[8] of Kitsune-zaka in Yamashiro province, Atago district. We find this name also in the *Inari chinza yūrai*[9], where a legend is told about three foxes, a married couple and a child of five years, who came to

1. 豊宇女社, "Fox-temple."
2. 命婦社, "Court-lady temple," comp. above pp. 55 sq.
3. See p. 56.
4. Comp. above p. 55.
5. *Inari jinjakō*, Ch. II, p. 40 a. Cf. my treatise on *The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition*, Transactions, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 8.
6. See above p. 55.
7. 新猿楽記, written in the 11th century.
8. 伊賀縛.
9. See above p. 137 note 1; Zoku gunsho ruijū, Vol. II, Ch. XXXIII, p. 168.

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Mount Inari in order to protect the world therefrom; the husband was appointed by the goddess as servant of the Upper Temple, with the name of Kosusugi (小菅), while the wife was to serve in the Lower Temple under the name of Akomachi. From that time they fulfilled the wishes of numberless people and appeared in the dreams, or before the eyes, of the believers. This legend was apparently invented to explain the connection of the anthropomorphic goddess with the foxes. In reality there were three female fox-gods together in one temple, and one of them was called Akomachi. The explanation of the word *Miketsu* as "August Food," instead of "Three foxes," is artificial, and was only invented by writers who wished to free Inari from originally having any connection with foxes. We can be sure that the fox cult has existed on Mount Inari from very olden times.

The temple of the "Three foxes," and that of the "Rice Spirit" (Uga no mitama) were undoubtedly different, but in old books we read about "the temple of Inari," as if there were only one shrine and one divinity on the mountain. In 827 the Emperor Junwa's illness was explained by diviners as being a curse due to the felling of the trees at the "Temple of Inari"[1], whereupon the Emperor bestowed the lowest degree of the fifth rank upon the deity of that temple in order to have the curse taken away. And in 843 the Emperor Nimmyō raised the same deity to the highest degree of the fifth rank[2]. The *Montoku jitsuroku* (878)[3] is the first work which mentions the "three temples of Inari", but that these three belonged together is proved by the fact that the later Emperors also always bestowed one rank upon them as upon a single deity. And one of the three was the Myōbu

1. *Nihon kiryaku*, 日本紀略, Ch. XIV, K. T. K. Vol. V, p. 454; *Ruijū kokushi*, 類聚國史, written by SUGAWARA NO MICHIZANE, 菅原道眞 (845-903), in the history of the 34th Emperor.

2. *Shoku Nihonkōki*, 續日本後紀, written in 869, Ch. XIII, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 346.

3. Ch. IX, K. T. K. Vol. III, p. 552.

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and the same. Besides the fox cult a tree spirit must have been worshipped on the mountain from very olden times; he too had to bow to the mighty power of the goddess, whose sacred trees thenceforth became famous throughout Japan. As to the foxes, spirits of the rice, it is quite logical for their shrines to be found everywhere in this country, which lives so largely on rice. The silence of the old books regarding their connection with Mount Inari was probably due to the fact that the fox cult on that mountain had been united with the anthropomorphic cult and was hidden behind the general name of "Gods of Inari." Afterwards, when on the mountain the victory of anthropomorphism was complete and Inari's glory spread more and more throughout the whole of the Empire, all the fox-gods were considered to be her messengers and representatives.

CHAPTER VI.

Conclusions.

A long, winding road of superstition and quaint belief lies behind us. Superstition, in so as far as foxes and badgers were feared as forebodings of evil or as things which haunted and possessed people; belief, in regard to their worship as gods, as parts of the numberless Shintō pantheon. On looking back over this road covering twelve long centuries we see China's influence entirely dominating the field of divination, transformation and possession, the latter as far as it was not due to human witchcraft. Japan was more likely herself responsible for the fox-sorcery, which was afterwards confounded with Indian magic; whereas with regard to the cult of the fox as the spirit of the rice, this was certainly a pure Japanese conception and growth.

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In the *eighth* century we saw the Japanese legislator menacing those who smoked foxes or mujina out of graves, a proof that this superstitious Chinese custom had spread even then in this country; otherwise it would have been omitted in the Japanese version of the Chinese law. Further, the Chinese ideas of foreboding in connection with the appearance of white or black foxes and of foxes in general appeared to be prevalent in Japan, as they were centuries afterwards. And not only the appearing of these animals, but their howling, copulating, or befouling places were all considered as omina, mostly portending evil. That they were also known at that time as haunting beasts, is proved by the passage in the *Shoku Nihongi*, which tells us that a god subdued a spook whose vulpine head was found in the garden. Further, we have read in the *Ryō-i-ki* a tale about a fox who took the shape of a charming maid and married a man, with whom she lived for a long time. She gave birth to a strong, agile son, whose descendants even down to the fourth generation excelled in strength. But dogs, the deadly enemies of foxes, always scent their real nature, so that the transformed fox fled away even from a puppy.

The *tanuki* was not yet mentioned in those days, although a calendar of the fourteenth century showed us that this animal's crying was feared as a foreboding of strife and of death. As to the *mujina*, the mysterious pearl found in its stomach was apparently believed to have supernatural power, just like that of the Chinese were-foxes; for it was presented to the Emperor and preserved in a shrine. That at that early time the mujina was believed to have the power of changing itself into a man we learned from another passage of the *Nihongi*. After the eighth century, however, the mujina disappeared from the stage of literature for a long period, and it is not until the eighteenth century that it appeared again.

In the *ninth* century we read of Celestial Foxes, flying through the air over the Palace, and of ominous appearances of

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ordinary wild foxes; while the beginning of the *tenth* century brought an interesting legend about foxes that took human shape and deluded a man in a remarkable way. So popular was that story, that it was told in detail in four different works of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries, while it inspired an author of the Muromachi period to write a similar tale in a different form.

The *eleventh* century spoke for the first time of fox-possession, and of foxes worshipped in Shintō temples. It seems to have been a magic cult which the Virgin Princess at Ise established, for the sorceresses of the capital followed her example, much to the indignation of their contemporaries, who considered the matter to be a scandal on the great gods of Ise; for it was under their names that the foxes were worshipped. As we have stated above[1], both the fox-magic and the fox-cult (of the spirits of the rice) must have prevailed in Japan from olden times, so that the only new and appalling fact about it was that the cult flourished in abuse of the holy name of Ise's deities. It is, however, quite possible that there existed an old fox cult in Ise, as was the case on Mount Inari, an old slumbering worship of vulpine-shaped rice spirits. Was not Toyo-uke-bime, the goddess of the Outer Temple at Ise, the great dispenser of food, identified with Uga no Mitama, the Soul of the Rice, who reigned on Inari's slopes? And did we not read about the severe punishment received in the eleventh century by one of the Fujiwara who had killed a divine fox at Ise; while in the following century the Court was twice discussing the same crime, which was considered to be as great as the killing of a divine spirit? This seems to indicate that there really existed an old connection between Ise and foxes.

Further, we saw foxes transform themselves into beautiful women in order to seduce men, who were sure to die if they had sexual intercourse with them, unless the foxes themselves

1. See above p. 118.

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died in their stead. Or they haunted men by appearing as the double of a woman, or as a tree or a mysterious glittering being, and possessed people in order to get food or to convey some communication by word of mouth. Their tricks were mischievous, but intended more to frighten mankind than to do actual harm. The haunting foxes were always *old* in years, according to the Chinese conception that the vital spirit (精, tsing) of all beings is steadily strengthened by old age, with the result that it becomes able to take human shape and to haunt. In respect of one virtue foxes surpassed men, namely in that of keeping their word when they had once promised to protect and help someone who had spared their lives or had restored their souls to them in the shape of precious gems.

The *twelfth* century showed us the capital a prey to haunting foxes which regaled the people with sumptuous meals of horse dung and cow bones transformed into delicious viands. The Sujaku gate especially was the favourite spot of the beasts, which did not even respect His Imperial Majesty; nor his officials, in whose carriages they drove away; nor Buddhist high-priests, whom they caused to come to the Sujaku road and pray before the altars of phantom houses; nor private persons, whom they deceived by paying them with old sandals and clogs, tiles and pebbles, bones and horns, temporarily transformed into gold, silver and silk. They even played tricks in the Palace itself, where they appeared as young women in order to tempt young men. On the other hand they protected a house against fire, where the deity of an old shrine, probably the Rice Spirit, caused them to appear; and they were considered so divine that the Emperor banished a distinguished nobleman for having killed a fox in the neighbourhood of the Saigū's palace at Ise; while twice thereafter the Court seriously discussed a similar case. Thus did the haunting demon of China and the fox-god of Japan appear side by side.

The *thirteenth* century brought us a good deal of new information. There was a fox carrying fire in its mouth and in

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human shape burning down the house of a man who had hit it with an arrow. This reminds us to a certain extent of the fox-fire (kitsune-bi), and also somewhat of the Tengu who set houses on fire, and, on the other hand, protected them against conflagrations.[1]

As to possession, we found the motives of practicing this quite different. Sometimes it was only hunger or a turn for epicurism in the matter of food which made a fox possess a man; but on other occasions nothing less than divine worship was what the animal was after. At the same time their appearance was still considered as portending either evil or good luck. When their haunting assumed too large proportions, they were menaced with a battue, whereupon one of them appeared in a dream, promising protection and prediction of luck, if the threat of punishment was withdrawn.

In the meantime *Indian* influence had come into play in the fox cults of old Japan. *Dagini Ten*, in reality a numberless crowd of Dākinī, Indian female divinities bestowing magical knowledge upon men, was identified with Benten, the Goddess of Wealth on the one hand, and with magical Japanese fox-gods on the other. She was also called the "Deva-King, the Venerable Fox" and the "Bodhisattva, the White Fox-king"; and Benten herself was believed to come out of her temple in the shape of a white fox. Dagini Ten appeared in a dream as a supernatural woman, but left her hair in the hands of the sleeper in the form of a fox tail, while in vulpine shape she ate the offerings made to her. We need not ask how strongly the fox cult and fox sorcery must have prevailed in those days, when we see how the Shingon priests degraded their Dagini, nay even their Benten, to the level of foxes in order to get possession of that part of the Japanese religion and magic.

In this century the *tanuki* appeared for the first time, whether alone or as combined with the fox in the term *kori* (狐狸),

1. Comp. Transactions Vol. XXXVI, Part II, "*The Tengu*", Ch. II, pp. 63, 72.

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"foxes and tanuki." As stated above[1], the same term occurred sometimes in old Chinese books in the sense of "foxes" only, and even the character 狸 alone was used for fox. But in Japanese literature the term *kori* always means "foxes and tanuki". The latter animal was in those early days not the rather harmless spook-beast of later times. On the contrary, it drowned the hunters who dared to hunt birds on a mountain lake, appearing to them as an old hag, who arose from the midst of the lake in a dazzling light and flew through the air to attack whoever approached its banks. Or the tanuki appeared as a pitch-black, gigantic Buddhist priest in an old chapèl and was believed to devour men. A common trick of the tanuki was throwing pebbles and potsherds into houses. As I remarked in my treatise on the Tengu[2], the "Tengu-tsubute," or "Tengu-pebbles" were well-known, and as early as 778 a shower of tiles, pebbles and earth-clods fell for twenty nights upon different houses in the capital, cast by an invisible hand.[3]

And this was not the only thing which the tanuki had in common with the Tengu. They both liked to appear as Buddhas or Bodhisattvas in order to deceive devout priests and hermits. For being worshipped by mankind was their delight, as well as that of foxes, so that they were even thought capable of abusing the name of a deceased Emperor by possessing persons and requiring for themselves worship in his name. But the power of transformation possessed by both foxes and tanuki came to an end as soon as they were killed. Then their powerful and majestic appearance shrunk to its original dimensions, and the mighty giants or Bodhisattvas lay down as miserable little beasts.

The *fourteenth* century did not bring much information, except that we read then for the first time about a special means for making out whether some one was a transformed fox or a

1. P. 1, note 1.
2. Ch. II, § 9.
3. *Shoku Nihongi*, Ch. XXXIV, K. T. K. II, p. 597.

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man, namely by forcing smoke into his nose. Even the Emperor was so afraid of haunting foxes, that he left a house where they exhibited their magical power, and preferred to run the risk of being attacked by Hiyoshi, the Shintō god of Hieizan, whose sacred sedan chair was left in the Palace by the angry monks. But not always did these beasts succeed in deluding mankind; for if they were not yet sufficiently experienced in the difficult art, they were quickly discovered and became the laughing-stock of those whom they sought to play upon. Old tanuki and old foxes were mentioned side by side as taking divine or human shape.

In the *fifteenth* century the old fox-sorcery broke forth in mighty waves and even penetrated within the walls of the Shōgun's palace. It was then for the first time that we found the term "*kitsune-tsukai*," or "employment of foxes", a magic art practiced even by such high personages as the Chief-Diviner and the Shōgun's physician. Yet it was deemed a very wicked art and punished with exile. Some later Japanese authors refer to an older passage where they believed they had discovered a trace of the same kind of sorcery, namely, the legend of the abbot Sō-ō, found in the *Fusō ryakki* (12th century).[1] But there is not a single proof that this abbot, who in the year 888 exorcised by means of incantations a fox which possessed the Empress, and compelled the beast to leave the shaking palace, was himself the culprit who had caused the fox to possess Her Majesty to the end that he might obtain praise and honour by driving the animal out. The author of the *Fusō ryakki* apparently did not think of such roguery on the part of the devout abbot.

The famous legend of the transformed fox *Tamamo no mae*, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Konoe, showed us the nine-tailed, white fox in India, China and Japan, with always a most baleful influence on King or Emperor as exercised through

1. See above p. 35.

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the person of a consort or a concubine. Probably this legend did not date from very olden times, because in China as well as in Japan the appearance of a nine-tailed or white fox was originally considered to be a very good omen. Indian influence may have caused this difference from the old belief; for it is characteristic that in the legend itself India is pointed out as the original field where the fox played her tricks, and that the power of Buddhism against this deadly enemy of mankind is intentionally put in a strong light. And it was a very efficacious means of propaganda indeed, for both in literature and on the stage the legend obtained the utmost popularity. Of Indian origin seems also to have been the word "*yakan*", which sometimes occurs in the *Ryō-i-ki* (8th century), *Konjaku Monogatari* (11th century), *Mizu Kagami* (12th century) and *Zoku kojidan* (13th century), side by side with the word "kitsune" as having the same meaning. As we stated above[1], an old Chinese work, quoted in the *Wamyōshō* (10th century), said that the yakan was different from the fox, namely a smaller animal with a big tail, which could climb trees, and that the Chinese by mistake had applied its name to the fox. Other Chinese books taught that it was an anthropophagous animal, resembling a blue-yellow dog, which was mentioned in Buddhist sutras. So we arrive at the conclusion that the yakan, although originally different from the fox, was introduced into Japanese folklore when it had already lost its primary Indian meaning in China, and was simply thought to be identical with the fox.

The worship of female fox-deities, probably spirits of the rice, was prevalent in those days, as it must have been from olden times. At least the encyclopaedical work *Ainōshō* (1446) mentioned them in connection with the name "*myōbu*" (Court lady) for fox. The same work spoke of fox-fire, which was believed to be made by means of burning horse bones, carried in the mouth by the foxes; but we saw in later works, that

1. Pg. 57.

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according to other explanations it was the breath of the beasts, or a shining pearl at the end of the tail, or burning horse hoofs, which made those ignes fatui.

The *sixteenth* century brought only old tales in a somewhat different form, namely the well-known legends of the man who was lying under his own godown, and of the transformed fox who was married to a man, but at last fled away at the approach of a little dog. The only interesting passage we found was that about the fox whose appearance was considered to be a bad omen because it happened in summer time, and who was killed by the power lodged in a poem.

Just as was the case with the Tengu, after the silence of the sixteenth century there followed a perfect torrent of legends in the *seventeenth.* At that time *Inari* conquered the field. The slumbering fox cult on Mount Inari, subdued by the anthropomorphic goddess [1] who was worshipped on the same mountain, suddenly appeared on the scene. The foxes, themselves spirits of the rice, were now messengers of the Rice-goddess, but they were not only sacred, they also received worship in shrines as representatives of Inari herself. Their shrines were demolished when a fox had done anything wrong and built up again if the culprit was punished by the fox-god of the shrine himself. At the same time old stories were told about Inari's connection with the fox, as, for example, that of the small fox which appeared above the hilt of a sword as a sign of Inari's presence in the Palace. The Inari temple at Kyōto had become the centre of all fox cults throughout the Empire, and in the same way Inari of Ōji near Yedo was the head of all foxes in the eight provinces of Kwantō. On New-Year's eve they all assembled at the foot of a tree near by in order to go up to the temple and pay reverence to their divine Mistress. The more fox-fire was seen there at that time and the more light

1. It was certainly a *female* deity in spite of the Kōbō Daishi legend, where apparently the male mountain god, and not the female Rice Spirit, is spoken of.

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it shed, the better would be the rice crop of that year. Could there be better evidence of the nature of the fox-gods as spirits of the rice?

But the foxes were not always thought to have connection with Inari. Sometimes they transformed themselves, as in former days, only for the pleasure of deluding men. So also did the tanuki, who even chose the Buddhist temples as a field for their tricks and made an image preach to the devout believers.

Fox-possession was very common in those days, as well as later, and madness, melancholy, hysteria and so on were all ascribed to the same cause. Women, weak men and children were in general the victims of this special kind of disease, which was cured in various ways. The patient was forced to snuff up smoke of burning wolf-dung, or to drink thin tea, or to swallow roasted leaves of the shikimi (illicium religiosum); all things which foxes were believed to detest. If there was doubt whether some one was possessed by a fox or was taken by an ordinary illness, no better trial could be made than by making him take this last mentioned medicine, because the fox-possessed patient would flatly refuse it. But there was still another means of driving the fox out, namely pricking the tumour, made by him under the skin of the possessed person, using for the purpose a needle taken mostly from the tail of an ei fish.

It was often by human sorcery that a fox was caused to possess some one. From very olden times this fox-magic existed in Japan, and instead of decreasing under Buddhist influence it spread more and more under the name of the "Dagini doctrine." There was one mountain especially where it flourished for many centuries, namely Mount Izuna in Shinano province. The "Izuna doctrine", being a combination of the old fox-magic, practiced on the mountain, with the cult of a Great Tengu, was already mentioned in a work of the fifteenth century, but did not reach the summit of its fame before the seventeenth. Since that time it was well-known as a powerful

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magic, by means of which the sorcerer caused the fox he had in his service to possess somebody or to tell him everything he wanted to know.

Next to this magical use of foxes we found them still considered as forebodings; for just as in olden times, their howling was believed to portend luck or some sort of calamity. Yet in spite of their power as divine, magical and ominous beings they did not escape the cruel hand of man who used their livers and fat in preparing medicines and unguents, and caught them in traps by means of their favourite food, rats fried in oil.

The *eighteenth* century spoke of Inari's revenge when fox shrines were neglected or sacred trees cut down. Madness, suicide and death by lightning fell upon the unhappy culprit and his family. But protecting fox-gods were sent by the goddess to monasteries or temples as a reward for devout worship; while often great wealth was bestowed upon men by divine foxes which they had saved or assisted in some way. More than ever the temple on Mount Inari became the centre of all fox cults in Japan, and its priests the chief mediators between fox deities and men. The divine foxes kept watch by turns on the holy mountain, and even the "Venerable Fox god," Kiko Myōjin, identified with Dagini Ten, was nothing but a messenger of Inari. At the same time the goddess felt herself responsible for the mischief her subjects did, and punished them severely. She gave them also different ranks, which they could buy for money, picked up at the offering boxes of temples. The divine foxes who lived in Buddhist temples, not only protected these buildings against fire and other calamities, but were also guardian-gods of the priests and gave oral and written oracles to believers.

It need hardly be said that side by side with the cult of Inari and her vulpine rice spirits the magical Izuna doctrine flourished with redoubled vigour. It was practiced by both Buddhist priests and laymen, but in some cases, if a priest went too far in this heterodox behaviour and profited largely by the

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fame obtained by exorcising the fox which he himself had caused to possess a person, the authorities intervened and banished him to another province. In Izumo province especially the so-called *kitsune-mochi*, or "fox-keeping", was very common, as much as was the dog-sorcery in Kyūshū. It is remarkable that the influence of the latter was believed to be checked by the tooth of a fox, the dog's deadly enemy, although in fox-lore it is always the fox who flees as soon as he is aware of the presence of a dog.[1] Except in causing people to be possessed, predicting the future and showing an amazing knowledge of all kinds of things, the fox-sorcerers gave performances with "spirit foxes" (ki-ko, 氣狐), making for example two persons out of one, which reminds us of the old stories of foxes acting as the doubles of women or men. Others deluded the people by means of the magic power of their foxes in showing them a mock shape instead of their own, as the man in Ōsaka did who offered his body as a target to such as cared to shoot at it.

But also apart from human influence foxes were still believed to possess and haunt mankind and change themselves into men. Sometimes they were dangerous, especially in the revenge they took, sometimes harmless, when they discussed Buddhistic topics in the shape of priests, or appeared as ghosts of the dead. But they soon resumed their vulpine shape when fumigated or bathed, or attacked by dogs. Sometimes they amused the people by fata morgana, showing castles and horsemen in battle array and long processions of daimyō.

Next to foxes the old tanuki had become very popular figures in Japanese folklore. They took the shape of one-eyed spooks or hags, or appeared as gigantic women or black priests in the dead of night, amid lightning and earthquake. They

1. On Mitsu-mine, a mountain in Musashi province, sacred dogs were kept in the temple of Mitsu-mine Gongen from remote ages down to the present day, and on the 19th of every month an offering of cleaned rice was made to them. From all sides the pilgrims flock there together in order to "borrow a dog" as they call it, that is, to obtain a charm which cures fox-possession. An invisible dog is believed to follow the charm and drive out the fox. Comp. YOSHIDA TŌGŌ's geographical lexicon, "*Dai Nihon chimei jisho*", p. 3054.

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flew as dazzling comets through the air, or fell as flaming human heads before bewildered men, whose feet they burned and whom they made ill by their pestilential breath. They knocked at the gate in the middle of the night and made their victims go to haunted houses, where they frightened them to death by their tricks. They buried their dead with Buddhist funeral rites and asked assistance of the priest of the monastery they had haunted the night before.

Not always, however, were the tanuki so dangerous or troublesome to men. Often, on clear moonlight nights, they amused the people by playing the belly-drum, or they appeared in their dreams in the shape of children, asking permission to live under their houses, announcing a belly-drum concert beforehand, or predicting that they, the tanuki, would be killed the next day by a dog. For they knew the past and the future, this life as well as former existences. On rainy nights they and the mujina appeared as ignes fatui.

After an absence of a thousand years the *mujina* came to life again in popular superstition. They haunted and predicted death to the people in the shape of boys or black lay-bonzes or old witches, lived during hundreds of years as monks in Buddhist monasteries, eagerly accumulating money and giving examples of their queer handwriting till they were killed by a mere dog. Even after death they brought a curse upon those who spent the money which they, the mujina, had collected during life, or caused the death of the daring man who had killed them. As priests they discussed Buddhist sutras, as old scholars the Chinese classics. So much did they resemble the tanuki, that their belly-drum and ignes fatui, their human shapes and ways of haunting were all the same, as well as their old age, which, as we have seen, gave animals and plants supernatural power.

In the *nineteenth* century fox-possession was not less common than before, but was mostly ascribed to human sorcery. Yet we also read about foxes who possessed persons and

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made them ill in revenge for some evil, or gave them power to work much more than usual in gratitude for being allowed to stay in the house of their master. Another time they pretended to be the ghost of a deceased bishop and made the possessed girl write Amida's holy name, at the same time taking care, in order to avoid Amida's anger, to use wrong characters which made it somewhat different from the real name. Needles and moxa were the means used for curing such patients, or old precious swords, which had killed some haunting fox long ago and were laid upon the heads of the possessed. The fox was also transferred into a medium by means of Buddhist incantations, as in the days of old, and then driven out by further tantras and by questions as to his origin, reasons and aim; or the possessed were taken to some Buddhist temple, famous for its powerful influence in such cases. The old legends of foxes, married to men during long periods of time, and of others feasting men on mock meals of dirty stuff, were told in slightly different form; while at the same time new elements had found their way into fox-lore, as, for example, the hypnotic power of old haunting foxes and their capacity of quickly changing bright moonshine into utter darkness, just as the Tengu did in their sacred valleys. They still showed their revengeful nature by annoying those who had insulted them, causing them to see long daimyō processions or to go on useless errands in the night, and, as in olden times, their mysterious lights glowed on field and moor in wet and dreary nights.

Fox-sorcery had reached its highest point. Izuna Gongen had his temples on the tops of many mountains, where Tengu cult and fox-magic went hand in hand. Shinano, Kōzuke, Izumo and other provinces abounded with families whose members were believed to have osaki-, kuda-, or man-foxes (jinko) in their service, which they caused to possess and haunt their enemies or rich people from whom they wished to obtain something. It is no wonder that such families were feared and shunned, and that nobody would allow his son or daughter to

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intermarry with them. The sudden rise and fall of poor and rich, theft, illness and inexplicable events were all ascribed to their influence. In short, the magic power, as well as that of divination, which these people obtained from their supernatural foxes, was believed to be unlimited.

In the meantime the *tanuki* had become more harmless than before. In Shikoku, where there were no foxes, they took the place of those animals, playing many a trick on the simple country folk, and also elsewhere they sometimes deceived young men and girls by taking the shape of pretty maids or handsome lovers, or deluded devout priests by appearing as Amida riding on a purple cloud. But in general they helped and amused mankind more than they annoyed them. Sometimes they lent them money, picked up from ditches and valleys, or gave them presents of precious swords; sometimes they amused them by fata morgana, causing enormous castles or busy market scenes to appear before their eyes. They lived as monks in monasteries and sold their drawings to the peasants, who liked such things very much. They lived above the ceilings of private houses, where they caused paper and pencil to fly up to them, with which they would proceed to write. But at last they were mostly killed by dogs, their natural enemies, and funeral services were held on behalf of their souls.

To-day the old superstitions are still in full vigour, as the Japanese newspapers are telling us from day to day. The sacred sword in Fudō's temple at Narita, as well as Hommyōji, the Nichiren temple at Kumamoto, attract crowds of pilgrims, who believe themselves possessed by foxes and are confident that they can be cured at these holy places. The bone of a tortoise's foot held in the left hand is considered an excellent talisman against the bewitching power of foxes and badgers.[1] The fabulous teapot which changes into a badger, and the tanuki-fire on rainy nights[2] are known to old and young. Fox-cult and fox-magic

1. BRINKLEY, *Japan*, Vol. V, pp. 14 sq.
2. Ibidem, pp. 200, 220.

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do not yet belong to the past, and the former especially will not disappear as long as Shintō lives. For even if all the superstitions, borrowed centuries ago from China, die out, the fox, the spirit of the rice, will retain his fame as the sacred messenger of Inari, and will be seen before her shrines throughout Japan.

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

The Annual General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held at 4 p.m., Thursday, Dec. 10, at the British Embassy, Kojimachi, Tokyo. H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, British Ambassador, President of the Society, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last General Meeting, having been printed in the papers, were taken as read. The reports of the Corresponding Secretary (for the Council), of the Librarian, and of the Treasurer were then read and adopted. The Society then proceeded to ballot for Officers for the ensuing year. While the tellers (Messrs. Coates and Hagin) were counting the ballots, Prof. Arthur Lloyd delivered a very interesting lecture on "The Oriental Congress in Copenhagen," and gave an account of his visits in Russia, Germany and England with learned scholars and at the meetings of other learned societies, especially those dealing with oriental topics. The President, in behalf of the Society, then extended thanks to Prof. Lloyd for his intertaining and instructive remarks. The Corresponding Secretary then read the result of the ballot, as follows :—

President.—H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, G. C. M. G., K.C.B., G.C.V.O.

Vice-President.—For Tokyo—Prof. E. H. Vickers. For Yokohama—J. C. Hall, Esq.

Corresponding Secretary.—Rev. T. M. MacNair.

Recording Secretaries.—For Tokyo—Prof. E. W. Clement. For Yokohama—W. B. Mason, Esq.

Treasurer.—Prof. J. T. Swift.

Librarian.—Prof. Arthur Lloyd, M.A.

Members of Council.—Prof. M. Anesaki, Ph.D., Galen M. Fisher, Esq., Prof. K. Florenz, Ph.D., J. McD. Gardiner, Esq.,

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Rev. A. F. King, R. J. Kirby, Esq., Rev. E. R. Miller, R. S. Miller, Esq., Rev. H. St. G. Tucker and M. W. de Visser, Ph.D.

Prof. J. T. Swift proposed, and the Society unanimously passed, a vote of thanks to H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald for his hospitality in throwing open the Embassy for this meeting. The meeting then adjourned.

The above-mentioned reports are hereto appended.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1908.

During the past year the Council has met fourteen times, and the Society has held nine general meetings and with papers read as follows:

COUNCIL MEETINGS.

Jan.	22	June	3
	29		17
Feb.	19	Oct.	7
Mar.	11		28
Apr.	1	Nov.	11
	15	Dec.	10
May	6		
	20		

GENERAL MEETINGS.

Jan. 29, 1908.—Lecture on "Some of the Problems of Life in New China", by Dr. Timothy Richard of Shanghai.

Feb. 19.—"The Life and Teachings of Nakai Toju, the Sage of Omi", by Galen M. Fisher, Esq.

March 18.—"Dazai on Rules of Life", by R. J. Kirby, Esq.

April 15.—"The Ancient Shinto God. Ame-no-minaka-nushi-no-kami, Seen in the Light of To-day", by Prof. G. Kato.

May 20.—"Japanese Feudal Laws; The Ashikaga Code", by John Carey Hall, Esq.

June 17.—"The Tengu", by Dr. M. W. de Visser.

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Oct. 28.—"Confucian Philosophy in Japan", by Walter Dening, Esq.

Nov. 4.—"The Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folk-lore", by Dr. M. W. de Visser.

Dec. 10.—Lecture by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, on "The Congress of Orientalists at Copenhagen."

One additional paper was furnished to the Society early in the year by the Rev. J. L. Atkinson, D.D., since deceased, on the subject, "The Ten Buddhistic Virtues: Not committing adultery", and was ordered to be printed in the Transactions.

Of these several papers the one just mentioned and the lecture by Dr. Timothy Richard have been printed, and will appear shortly, together with Mr. Fisher's paper on Nakai Toju and Mr. Kirby's on Dazai, &c., as Part 1. of Vol. XXXVI of the Transactions. The remainder of the material in hand, as above, will be divided between Parts 2. and 3. of the same volume. A small new edition of the Constitution and By-Laws, as amended to date, and a new list of members and Catalogue of Transactions has just been received from the printer. The only amendment made during the year was to the effect that after May 20th ordinary membership fees should be the same for resident and non-resident members, viz. five *yen* a year and that the cost of life membership should be raised to sixty *yen*, plus entrance fee in the case of new members, and less two and a half *yen* for each year of membership in the case of others; but that after twenty-five years of ordinary membership life membership should be obtainable on application to the Treasurer without further payment.

Although work is thus begun on Vol. XXXVI, the printing of Vol. XXXV is not yet finished, Parts 2. and 3. being still in press. They comprise the papers by Dr. M. Anezaki and F. V. Dickins, Esq., on "The Four Buddhist Agamas in Chinese" and "The Makura Kotoba of Primitive Japanese Verse" respectively. They would both have been issued long since but for the occurrence of a fire in the Fukuin Printing

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House which caused much confusion, and was supposed for a time to have destroyed the manuscript of the former and the stereo-plates of most of the latter. A report was made to this effect, but after some months had elapsed the Society was informed of the safety of the materials, both manuscript and plates, and of the printer's ability and readiness to proceed with the work. This he was instructed to do, in accordance with previous arrangements. New proofs of the Makura Kokoba were furnished, and were forwarded to England for the author's personal revision. They have not yet been returned, though word has come that they may be expected in a fortnight. The paper on the Four Agamas is about half completed at this date.

Parts 1. and 2. of the Transactions, Vol. XXXV, were issued to members of the Society and to the public during the spring and summer, after delay in the case of the latter, which was likewise caused by the fire. The part was in fact brought out by a different establishment. The lectures on "Formative Elements of Japanese Buddhism", by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, with which this second Part of Vol. XXXV was concluded, are deserving of special notice in this connection. The manuscripts of all were reported as lost, but were happily restored to the Society later on and in time for insertion in Part 2. A more extended treatment of the subject, however, which Prof. Lloyd was printing privately, was entirely burned, and this loss was quite irreparable, save by an entire rewriting on Prof. Lloyd's part, which could not be undertaken, as a matter of course, prior to his departure for Europe to attend, as the Society's representative, the Fifteenth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, meeting at Copenhagen in August. The Society was therefore disappointed in its expectation, as expressed in the last Annual Report of the Council, that the four lectures, and with them the larger statement, would "serve as a means of bringing the society and Prof. Lloyd prominently before students of Oriental matters on that occasion". This end was none the

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less gained, however, by Prof. Lloyd personally, who was present at the Congress and made valuable contributions to its proceedings.

With regard, further, to the printing of the Transactions, the Council would express regret that the work has not gone forward with greater rapidity and with more definite and apparent results, but the delay has been due to circumstances over which the Publication Committee have had no control.

The membership roll of the Society has been considerably extended during the year. Only two members have resigned, viz., Messrs. H. L. Latham and A. A. Williamson. Basil Hall Chamberlain, Esq., has been made an honorary member, on account of his long continued and exceptionally valuable services to the Society. James Hazen Hyde was made a life member, and the following names have been added to the list of ordinary members, all of them resident in Japan except the two last:— Lieut. F. C. Bartels, Henry P. Bowie, Esq., Rev. L. Byrde, J. M. Davis, Esq., J. Edalji, Esq., J. Gasco, Esq., Rev. Bishop M. C. Harris, D.D., Rev. H. Jowett, J. R. Kennedy, Esq., Miss Z. Kincaid, Rev. J. H. Lloyd, Howard May, Esq., Dr. W. W. McLaren, Miss C. J. Neely, Lieut. C. H. Niell-James, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, Dr. Paravicini, Dr. Rachel Read, F. G. Sale, Esq., G. A. Scott, Esq., W. F. L. Sweet, Esq., Dr. M. W. de Visser, J. C. Ward, Esq. E. A. Wiedemann, Esq., E. R. Kellogg, Esq. and Mrs. Murray Warner.

The Council would call attention to the fact, as reported by Prof. Lloyd on his recent return from England, that members of the Society when in London are welcome to make use of the Library and rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society there located, a courtesy which Prof. Lloyd had himself experienced, and of which he had received the assurance that it was open alike to other members of the Society who might be in a position to take advantage of it.

It remains only to state that the vacancies in the Council, made necessary by the departure from Japan of Dr. D. C. Greene

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and Prof. B. H. Chamberlain, were filled by the appointment of Revs. A. F. King and E. R. Miller, and that the latter was asked to perform the duties of librarian during the absence of Prof. Lloyd.

The Hon. Librarian's Report is as follows :—

The Hon. Librarian begs to report that the orders for Transactions during the year just closing have amounted to *yen* 964.95, of which an unprecedentedly large number have been received from Japan, through Japanese booksellers, showing that the work of the Society is being appreciated by the scholars of this land.

During the same period the expenses of the Library have come to *yen* 216.39, of which *yen* 144 have been for the Assistant Librarian, the rest for postage and sundries.

A sum of 250 *yen* for the purchase of books in England was entrusted to the Hon. Librarian during the early summer. Of the books bought with this money one small consignment (of which a list is appended) has arrived and been put on the shelves. Notice has been received of the arrival within a few days of a second consignment. A third list was ordered in October, and should arrive by the end of this month or early in January. No statement of accounts can be given until all the books have arrived.

Two consignments of pamphlets, books and proceedings of Scientific Societies and Institutions have been sent to the Library of the Keiogijuku.

The Hon. Librarian also wishes to express his thanks to the Rev. E. Rothesay Miller for kindly undertaking the charge of the Library during his absence this summer.

Respectfully submitted,

A. LLOYD.
Hon. Librarian.

BOOKS RECEIVED FROM JUNE 1 TO NOV. 9, 1908.

Academia della Scienze,
Philological, vol. i. series i. 1906-7.
Juridical „ „ 1906-7.
Geog. Soc. Lisbon, 1908, Ian.-June.
Royal Dublin Soc. Scient. Proc. 1908, Jan.-June.
Econ. Proc. 1908, April.
Chinese Recorder, 1908, June-Oct.
Societé d'Anthrop, Paris. viii. 4, 1907.
Monatsschrift für den Orient, 1908, May-Sept.
Geographical Journal. April-Sept., 1908.
J. R. Asiatic Society. April, July, 1908.
Royal Society, London, A. 538-547. (46 missing).
B. 529-542.
Wiener Anthrop, Ges. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3.
As. Soc. Ceylon, vol. xix. 1907.

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As. Soc. North China, vol. 39, 1908.
Journal Asiatique, 1907. Nov., Dec.
1901. Jan., Feb.
Geol. Survey India, 1908. xxxvi, pt. 3.
Research and Review, vol. i., part 2.
Chendra Das. Tibetan Hist. of Indian Buddhism (presented).
R. S. Edinburgh, 1907-8, xxviii., 4, 5, 6.
Science of Man 1908, May, July, Aug.
Commission Polaise Internationale Bruxelles (presented).
Geological Survey Canada, Index 1885-1886.
„ „ Ann. Report 1907, xvi.
„ „ Maps.
Canada's Fertile North Land, Maps.
Falls of Niagara.
Russian Ac. Sc. 1908, Nos. 8-13, incl.
„ Geogr. Society 1908, xliv., 3, 4, 5.
„ Moscow Ethn. Mus. Dec., 1907.
„ Mongolia and Cham. Vol. viii.
Ann. Zool Jap. Vol. iv., pt. 4.
Coll. Agric. Sapporo, iii., pt. i.
Zeittchrift der deutsche Morg. Ger. lxii. 1, 2.
Verein für Erdkunde 1906.
Geol. Inst. Mexico Vol. xxiii.
„ Dr. Parergones Vol. i. 4, 5, 6.
Camb. Ant. Soc. Quarto. New Series i.
Journal Siam Soc. v. pts. 5, 2 incl.
Smithsonian Inst., Report, 1906.
Ethnological Bull., 33.
Dept. Agriculture, 1907.
Japan by the Japanese (purchase).
Bataviaasch Genost, Tijdskorft, l., 5, 6, li., i.
Notulen xlvi.
Rottinesch-Hollandsch, Dict. (presented).
Jaxa Corlog. 1826 3, pt. v.
American Geogr. Soc., 1908, May-Sept.
University of Upsala.
Juristic Report. 1907.
Medical „ 1907.
Philosophy „ 1907.
Theology „ 1907.
Linnaean Celebration. 1907.
Seimélog Vaxtodlingen. 1907.
Liuné portrait 1907.
Dialede Lenais. 1907.

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Picturesque Sweden.
Handbuch Schweden.
Bulletin, Ecole Francaise de l'Extrême Orient, vii. 3, 4.

FIRST LIST OF BOOKS BOUGHT IN ENGLAND.

Mitford's Tales of Old Japan.
Sabbadhra Ehikshu, Buddhist Catechism.
Chambers, Canada's Fertile Northland (presented by Canadian Government).
Bing, Artistic Japan, Vol. VI.
Phayre's History of Burma.
Legge, Life and Teachings of Confucius.
Thomas, The Book of Governors (2 vols.).
Julieu, Hoei-lau-Ki.
Neumann, Translations from the Chinese.
Berkeley Japanese Letters.
Griffis, Townsend Harris in Japan.
Adams, Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Formosa.
MacKay, From Far Formosa.
Knox, Imperial Japan.
Stend, Japan by the Japanese.
Golowin, Captivity in Japan, 2 vols.
Ular, A Russo-Chinese Empire.
Hastings, Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I.

CASH STATEMENT BY THE HON. TREASURER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN FROM DEC. 1907 TO NOV. 30TH, 1908.

To Balance Dec. 1907	2,411.21
To Residents' Subscriptions	662.90
To Non-residents' Subscriptions	132.74
To Life Members' Subscriptions	115.98
To Entrance Fees	180.00
To Interest	115.68
To Transactions paid for	691.53
	4,310.04
By Sec. MacNair's Petties	20.00
By Librarian's Petties...	216.39
By Treasurer Kirby's Petties	12.47
By Sec. Clement's Petties	20.00
By Printing	158.70
By Rent ½ year	157.50
By Insurance	35.00
By Rev. A. Lloyd for purchase of Books...	250.00
By Royalty on Transaction	63.00

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By Mitsu Bishi c/a...	1,253.41	
Less unpaid cheques	28.77	
	1,224.64	
By Special Deposit Mitsu Bishi Bank	472.21	
By Fixed Deposit Mitsu Bishi Bank...	1,038.94	
By Fixed Deposit H. & S. B.	600.00	3,379.98
By H. & S. B. C. c/a	41.19	
	4,310.04	

We have nearly 1,000 *yen* more in hand now than we had this time last year, but before long heavy printing bills must be paid, so really we are not in any better position financially. There is about 1,000 *yen* due us from Members for Subscriptions and Entrance Fees. Ultimately the bulk of this will no doubt be paid, as it is owing by people well able to pay.

RICHARD J. KIRBY.

December 10th, 1908.

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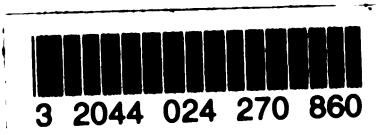
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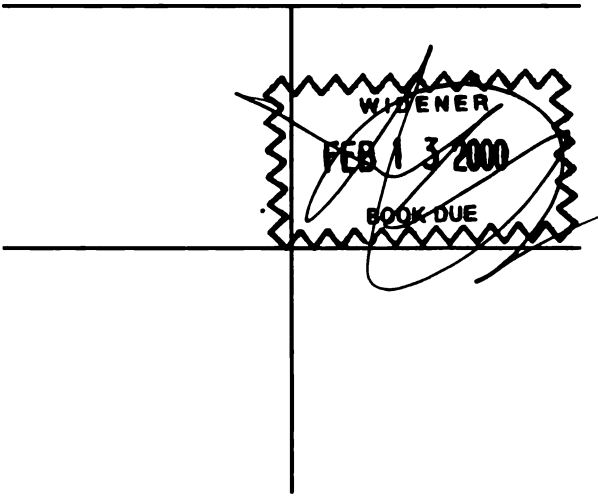

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